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Mr. V. B. Palmer, at his newspaper agency.

New York, Philadelphia, Boston, and Baltimore. this paper.

Within the last week we have received two

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We invite the attention of those who are

The investment of the publisher of this paper to the following table, showing the rate of discount on uncurrent money in this city. We earnestly hope that those who send money will endavor to send such bank bills as are at the lowest

washington,	D. U.	•	-	-	T SEL.	
Baltimore	-	-			Par.	
Philadelphia	-			-	Par.	
New York cit	v			-	Par.	
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New Jersey					3/4	do.
Eastern Penn	sylva	nia	-	-	3/4	do.
Western Pen	nsylv	ania		-	11%	do.
Maryland	-		-		1/6	do.
Virginia	-	-		-	3%	do.
Western Vir	ginia		-		11%	do.
Ohio -	-				21/4	do.
Indiana -	-	-		-	21/	do.
Kentucky		-	-		21/	do.
Tennessee			-		312	do.
Michigan	-		-		3	do.
Canada -	-	-	-	-	5	do.
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THE NATIONAL ERA. WASHINGTON, JANUARY 3, 1848.

SPEECH OF MR, CLINGMAN, OF NORTH CAR-OLINA, ON THE QUESTION OF SLAVERY.

(Thirtieth Congress, first session. House of Representatives, December 22.)

PRELIMINARY REMARKS. PRELIMINARY REMARKS.

Mr. Chairman: When, the other day, in debate, gentlemen of the other side of the House spoke of a black cloud overhanging the country, and of there being danger from Abolitionism to the South, it was impossible to mistake their meaning. As I did not then regard such remarks as in order, I allowed them to pass without reply. We have now, however, the subject fairly before us. The President says, in his message now under consideration, that we must have territory from Mexico; and his friends on this floor from the North insist that this territory shall be appropriated to the use of the free States exclusively. This presents a great question—a question ly. This presents a great question—a question which has been discussed for twelve months over the whole country, and which must be met by this House. If that question be debated in good temper, no evil can result to the country from the discussion. I therefore avail myself of this the first fair opportunity for the expression of my views in reopportunity for the expression of my views in re-lation to the whole subject.

It is known, sir, that on a former occasion I dif-

fered with a majority of the Southern members of this House upon a question indirectly having some relation to the subject of slavery. I voted against the rule excluding Abolition petitions, not only because I regarded that rule as an infringement of the right of petition, but because I was well aware that most of the citizens of the Northern States viewed it in that light; and I was not willing to do violence to the feelings of a large portion of the Union, for the mere purpose of preserving a rule that was of no practical advantage in itself. I voted against the rule because I saw that by its continuance we obliged the friends of the Constitution and of the South to fight the Abolitionists at home, upon the weakest of all the issues that could be presented, so that we were losing ground, and the Abolitionists gaining, thereby. I saw clearly that by this means these disorganizers had acquired a great show of strength, by blending with themselves the friends of the right of petition. They were thus, too, promoting the object they had in view of getting up excitement and producing ill-feeling between the North and the South. I saw, too, that our seeking this new defence implied that the Constitution and have of our forefathers were insufficient barriers for our protection, and that this seeming confession of weakness and fear on our part had encouraged our adversaries, and stimulated them to fresh attacks. For these and other reasons, which have heretofore been stated, I opposed that rule, and I now recur to it merely to say that subsequent experience has given me additional reason to be satisfied with my course.

That obstacle has been removed, and we are now thrown back to our old position, the original ground of defence occupied by us in the morning of our Government, when the sun of the Constitution, just risea, shed its freshest and purest light over the Union. Thirteen States, till then independent, sovereige, and equal, had united to form a Government for their common benefit. It was their pain purpose to

have been at war with the spirit and against the plain intent of the Constitution. This view, that all the States and their citizens were equally en-titled to the advantages of the Government, both

in possession and in prospect, is so obvious that I need not dwell on it. FUBLISHER'S NOTICES.

I'All communications relating to the business matters of the paper, &c., and particularly the names of subscribers, remittances, &c., should be addressed to L. P. Noble, Publisher.

I'As this paper is not sent to any new subscriber, unless paid for in advance, the reception of it will be a sufficient receipt.

I'A Agents and others, in sending names, are requested to be very particular, and have each letter distinct. Give the name of the Post Office, the County, and the State.

I'A Orders are coming in daily for papers without the pay. No paper will be sent except the pay accompany the order. Funds may be sent at our risk, by mail, taking care to have the letter put in an envelope, and well sealed, directed, post paid, to the Publisher.

I'A Accounts are kept with each subscriber, and when we receive money from him on his subscription, it is immediately passed to his credit.

I'A Agents will notice that we keep an account with each subscriber. Hence no accounts will be kept with the agents; and in transmitting moneys INTENTION OF THE CONSTITUTION. which this provision was adopted may properly be brought to mind. It is well known that in the Convention which framed the Constitution there be brought to mind. It is well known that in the Convention which framed the Constitution there was great difficulty upon the subject of allowing slaves to be represented. After, however, it had been settled by repeated votes of the Convention that three-fifths of the slaves should be counted in apportioning representation among the States, Luther Martin, of Maryland, the subject of the regulation of trade being under consideration, said, that, as three-fifths of the slaves were to be counted in apportion that the slaves were to be counted in a proposentation, that is supported by the slaves were to be counted in a proposentation that is supported by the slaves were to be counted in a proposentation, that is supported by the slaves were to be counted in the slaves were to be counted in the slaves were to be counted by the slaves were to be counted by the slaves were to be counted to the slaves were to be counted by the slaves were to be counte regulation or trade being under consideration, said, that, as three-fifths of the slaves were to be counted in representation, that circumstance might operate as an inducement to the importation of such persons; and he moved to give Congress the power to prohibit or tax the importation of slaves. This motion met strenuous opposition from the members of the Convention from South Carolina and Georgia. They were supported in their opposition by the members from Connecticut and Massachusetts, who insisted that every State should be allowed to import what it pleased; that the morality or wisdom of slavery belonged to the States alone; that it was a political matter, which should be left to them; while, on the other hand, the members from Virginia and Pennsylvania were with Martin in favor of giving the power of exclusion. The debate was long and excited. There was also much difficulty on the subject of giving the power to regulate trade by navigation acts. It was contended that the principal inducement which the North had to form the Union was the benefit which they expected to derive from the exercise of this power; while the Southern btain a victory over the other.

the exercise of this power; while the Southern members insisted that a vote of two-thirds in Congress should be necessary to give validity to navigation acts; which would, in effect, have rendered the power nugatory. In the midst of these difficulties, which seemed likely to render the atdifficulties, which seemed likely to render the attempt to form a common Government abortive,
Gouverneur Morris, of Pennsylvania, suggested
that the subject of the importation of slaves and
that of a tax on exports and navigation acts should
all be committed, so as to form a bargain between
the Northern and Southern States. The report
from the committee provided that the importation
might be prohibited after the year 1800; but, on
the motion of General Pinckney, the time was axmight be promoted after the year 1800; out, on the motion of General Pinckney, the time was ex-tended till 1808; the members from New Eng-land voting with Maryland and the three South-ern States, while Virginia, who was said to have then more slaves than she needed, voted against the amendment, with New Jersey, Pennsylvania, and Delaware. In this form it was ultimately adopted, as a consideration for the power given the Government to pass navigation acts and regu-late trade. It would be out of place here to in-quire which section has gained most by the bar-gain—whether the North has been more benefited y our tariff laws than the South by the imports

ion of slaves.

My purpose is to call the attention of the House of the nature of the limitation of slavery estab-My purpose is to call the attention of the House to the nature of the limitation of slavery established by the Constitution. It not only preserved the institution as it then existed, and provided for the representation of the slaves, but it allowed their numbers to be indefinitely increased for the next twenty years by importations; after which it was to cease, if Congress saw fit. But there was no power given to exclude free persons. The Constitution of the United States, therefore, was obviously made to govern all those who were then in the country, whether freemen or slaves, and their descendants—all free persons who might come into the country in all time, and also all slaves which might be imported up to the year 1808. The partnership or compact of Government embraced all these. It permitted an indefinite increase of free persons, but limited the number of slaves. That limitation was most clearly of the numbers of the slaves, not of the territory ber of slaves. That limitation was most clearly of the numbers of the slaves, not of the territory they might occupy. The framers of the Constitution seem to have entertained, with respect to liberty and slavery, the old-fashioned notions—such notions, I mean, as prevailed among the civilians and common lawyers of the world; among political and philosophical writers and mankind generally—that is, that liberty was a personal right, and not one annexed to land or territory. They supposed that they were promoting the cause of liberty by limiting the number of persons who might become slaves, and thereby preventing an indefinite extension of slavery. But, the number of slaves being limited and fixed, it did not seem to them to be a matter of moment to confine their residence to particular portions of territory. They seem to have had no conception of the fashionable phrase of our day, area of slavery, which must not be extended.

They seem to have had no conception of the fashionable phrase of our day, area of slavery, which must not be extended.

POWERS OF CONGRESS IN RELATION TO UNITED STATES TERRITORIES.

I am now brought, Mr. Chairman, to the direct consideration of the great question as to the extent of the powers and duties of Congress in relation to slavery in the territories of the United States. Upon this subject a distinguished politician from the South, (Mr. Calhoun,) in the other wing of this building, some twelve months since, laid down certain doctrines, which are, in substance, as near as I can remember them, these: The territories of the United States, being the common property of the Union, are held by Congress in trust, for the use and benefit of all the States and their citizens; secondly, that Congress has no right to exclude by law any citizens of the United States from going into any part of said territories, and carrying with them and holding any such property as they are allowed to hold in the States from which they come. This view, though perhaps plausible at the first glance, is really the most shallow and superficial that could possibly be presented. Admitting the first general proposition to be true, (and no fair mind can question it.) that the territories of the United States are held by Congress in trust for the use and benefit of all the States and their citizens, I am free to confess that, if Congress should see that it was most advantageous to allow all the citizens to occupy the territory in common with their property, it doubtless ought so to provide. But it is equally clear that if, on the other hand, Congress should see that all the citizens of the United States could not thus advantageously occupy all the territory in common, it might divide the same so as to assign certain portions to particular classes or persons. Why, sir, according to this mode of reasoning, it might be insisted that the army could not be divided, so as to place particular regiments and companies to defend certain points in excl

tain its extent, we must resort to implication. It is as sometimes been contended that the right of self-government was for a time in abeyance or suspended as to the territories. To this view I cannot assent; the right of self-government naturally belongs to every community; that right can never be annihilated or destroyed, though it may be transferred. Unless some other community or sovereign has acquired the authority to control it, the first community always possesses the right of self-government. So, neither can these powers be in a state of suspension, except by their being temporarily transferred to some other sovereign or Government. It is conceded on all hands that the inhabitants of the territory have no right of legislation, and it is equally clear that none of the States have any power to govern it. All the powers that can be exercised belong to Congress alone; Congress has power to make all needful rules and regulations. But the wants of all communities are in legal contemplation the same; the wants of the territories may be, and in fact are, just as great as those of the States. It seems to me, then, Mr. Chairman, with due deference to those who have given the subject greater consideration than I have been able to do, that Congress, in legislating for the territories, is controlled only by the Constitution of the United States. It is equally true, however, that the people of the several States are likewise controlled by this Constitution; whether acting in convention or through their ordinary legislative Governments, they can do nothing contrary to it. Congress has, then their ordinary legislative Governments, they can do nothing contrary to it. Congress has, then, over the territory just such powers as the Legis-lature would have after it became a State. Both are controlled by the Constitution of the United are controlled by the Constitution of the United States, the supreme law of the land. As this Constitution is silent in relation to slavery, it has been argued on the one hand that Congress can do nothing to exclude it from the territory; on the other hand, it is asserted with equal confidence that, for the same reason, there is no power to establish the institution. These two opposite views are worthy antagonists, and I shall leave them to contend, not fearing that either will ever obtain a victory over the other.

GENERAL CONSIDERATIONS RELATING TO SLAVERY.

Congress has general legislative powers over the territories; but one of the most important duties of the law-making power is to determine the rights of property. What shall be property, how titles shall be acquired and maintained, it is the province of the municipal law of every country to determine. This principle is a generally try to determine. the province of the municipal law of every country to determine. This principle is so generally recognised, and has been so universally acted on among mankind, that it need not be enlarged upon. It has been insisted, in certain quarters, however, that liberty being the natural right of all, no property could be acquired over persons, and that all attempts of Government to legalize slavery in any form are to be extended synature. very in any form are to be esteemed unnatural illegal, and utterly void. To deny the right o Government to recognise property in persons is easy, because it is easy to deny anything; but to determine what is natural among men, you must refer to the conduct and practices of mankind generally. To ascertain what powers Governments may properly exercise, you must refer to the action of political States and the conduct of nations generally. In this mode we determine the laws of nations and the rights and duties of Governments. Under the guidance of these principles, how are we to determine the question? We find that the nations of the earth, from the earliest historic ages, have generally recognised and es-tablished the system of slavery. As to how the matter was between the Creation and the Deluge we have no knowledge, but we do know that short-ly after the latter event the institution existed, not only among the Patriarchs of the Jewish peo-ple, but among all the nations from which we have any accounts. Among the Jews, slavery was lim-

ple, but among all the nations from which we have any accounts. Among the Jews, slavery was limited in this respect. If a male Hebrew became a slave to one of his own countrymen, after seven years' service, he was made free. But this privilege seems not to have extended to his wife, if a slave, nor to his children; nor was it ever held to apply to slaves obtained from other nations. From those times downward, the institution seems generally to have prevailed among the nations of the earth. If the free States of Greece, Rome, and Carthage, seem to have had a larger proportion of slaves than most of the nations of their day, it is doubtless to be attributed to the fact that those Republics, by reason of their superiority, both in civil and military art and science, were more powerful than their contemporaries, and thereby able to make a larger number of captives in war. So general was the system, that, while it is easy to find those who denied the right of property in land, it is difficult to discover a people who questioned the right to make property of persons. At length, the Council of Macen, towards the end of the sixth century after Christ, decreed that no Christian should be compelled to remain a slave, and Gregory ordained that no heathen desirous of becoming a Christian should be retained in slavery. From the limitations of these orders, it is obvious that they were made not so much to promote the natural rights of men as the spreading of Christianity.

During the thirteenth century, slavery is sup-

mote the natural rights of men as the spreading of Christianity.

During the thirteenth century, slavery is supposed to have ceased in Italy, and not long afterwards in some of the other nations of Western Europe. In England, we find Henry the Eighth, in the year 1514, during one of his pious fits, manumitting two of his villeins; and, by the close of that century, slavery appears to have ceased in England. On this side of the Atlantic, too, the institution has generally prevailed in former times, and since our national existence commenced it prevailed in all the then States. Even in those States where slavery proper has been abolished, as well as in England, property in persons is still recognised, and the wife and children are regarded in law as the servants of the husband and father; and when they are injured, he brings an action for the loss of their services by reason of father; and when they are injured, he brings an action for the loss of their services by reason of the injury. I have high Abolition authority for saying that more than half of Christendom now hold slaves. The highest court in England, where the Abolition spirit seems to be strongest, has decided that slavery is not contrary to the law of nations. These things being considered, Mr. Chairman, it is a great misnomer to speak of our institutions at the South as peculiar. Ours is the general system of the world, and the free system is the peculiar one.

DUTY AND PRACTICE OF THE FEDERAL GOVERNMENT. If, then, Congress possesses general legislative powers over the territories, as I contend, it is idle to deny that slavery may either be permitted or forbidden to exist there.

powers over the territories, as I contend, it is idle
to deny that slavery may either be permitted or
forbidden to exist there.

What ought the Government to do? The territories being the common property of the United
States, it is the duty of Congress to dispose of
them, as far as practicable, for the use and benefit
of all the States. If the Government, either directly or indirectly, should, by its action, intentionally so dispose of the territories as to confer
greater advantages on some of the States than on
others, then it would be guilty of a breach of the
high trust confided to it. Should it declare, in
advance, that it would exclude any of the States
and their citizens from all the territories of the
Union, this would be as gross a violation of the
Constitution as it could commit. Being the Government of the United States, whatever it has, it
must hold and administer for the benefit of all
the parties to the Constitution. One-half of the
States have slaves, the other half have none.
Should Congress establish slavery in all the territories, and should that circumstance render
them less desirable to the citizens of the free
States, and thereby prevent their going into and
occupying them, such a disposition, giving greater
advantages to the people of one section than to
those of the other, would be unjust and unconstitutional. On the other hand, should Congress
exclude slavery from all the territories of the
Union, so as to prevent the citizens of the slave
States from occupying them, such a measure would
be at war with the spirit of the Constitution.

To enable the Government, therefore, so to dispose of the territories as to promote the common
benefit, and thereby carry out the plain intention
of the Constitution, it obviously becomes necessary and proper for it to divide them, so as to permen, and the other by those who may held slaves.
By such a course only can it promote the general
benefit of the whole Union, for which it was created.

The practice of the Government heretofore has

The practice of the Government heretofore has been substantially in accordance with these principles. At the formation of the Constitution, though twelve of the thirteen States held slaves, it was well understood that the more northern ones, having very few, and being without any inducement to retain them, would soon be relieved entirely of slavery. The Government, therefore, left to be occupied by slaveholders all that portion of its territories out of which has since been created the States of Kentucky, Tennessee, Alabama,

I do not, however, Mr. Chairman, admit for one moment the doctrine advanced in some quarters, that the Government ought to acquire territory to strengthen either the free or the slave States, as against the other section. Being the Govern-ment of the United States, it is not justified in using ment of the United States, it is not justified in using its powers for the advancement of some of the States at the expense of the others. If, independently of these considerations, there are substantial national reasons for the acquisition of territory, it may be acquired. Should it lie on our Northern frontier, then, on account of its contiguity to the free States, cold climate, and for other reasons which need not now be given, it should be made free territory. Should it be on our Southern border, it ought to be open to the citizens of the slave States, who, by the of their contiguity, similarity of climate, acc, would most conveniently occupy it, and it ought to tolerate slavery. Should it be on our Western border, fairness would seem to require its division with reference to the considerations above stated.

LETTER OF THEODORE PARKER, OF MAS-SACHUSETTS, TO THE PEOPLE OF THE Fellow-Citizens of the United States:

It may seem strange and presumptuous that an obscure man, known even by name to but very few in the land, should write you a public letter few in the land, should write you a public letter on a theme so important as this of Slavery. You may call it foolish and rash. Say that if you will; perhaps you are right. I have no name, no office, no rank amongst men, which entitle my thoughts to your consideration. I am but one of the undistinguished millions, who live unnoticed, and die remembered only by their family and friends, humble and obscure. If any of the famous men accustomed to sway the opinions of the political parties and the theological sects. had mous men accustomed to sway the opinions of the political parties and the theological sects, had suitably treated this matter, showing you the facts and giving manly counsel, I should not have presumed to open my mouth. It is their silence which prompts me to speak. I am no aspirant for office or for fame; have nothing to gain by your favor; fear nothing from your from. In writing office or for fame; have nothing to gain by your favor; fear nothing from your frown. In writing this letter I obey no idle caprice, but speak from a sense of duty, in submission to the voice of conscience. I love my country, and my kind; it is patriotism and humanity which bid me speak. I ask you to read and consider, not to read without your prejudices, but with them, with them all; then to consider, to decide, to act, as you may or must. I address myself to no party to no sect. or must. I address myself to no party, to

or must. I address myself to no party, to no sect, but speak to you, as Americans and as men, addressing my thoughts to all the citizens of the slave States and the free.

I am to speak of a great evil, long established, wide spread, deeply rooted in the laws, the usages, and the ideas of the people. It affects directly the welfare of three millions of men, one sixth part of the nation: they are slaves. It affects directly half the States: they are slaveledges. It has a of the nation: they are slaves. It affects directly half the States: they are slaveholders. It has a powerful influence on the other half, though more subtle and unseen. It affects the industry, laws, morals, and entire prosperity of the whole nation to a degree exceeding the belief of men not familiar with its history and its facts. The evil increases with a rapid growth; with advancing flood it gains new territory, swells with larger volume; its deadly spray and miasma gradually invade all our institutions. The whole nation is now legally pledged to its support: the public now legally pledged to its support; the public legislation for the last sixty years has made slaand your navy are bound to support; your army acts for its defence. You have fought wars, spending money and shedding blood, to gain new soil wherein to plant the tree of slavery. You have established it in your Districts and your have established it in your Districts and your Territories. You have recently annexed to your realm a new Territory as large as the Kingdom of France, and extended slavery over that soil whence a semi-barbarous people had expelled it with ignominy. You are now fighting a war in behalf of slavery, a war carried on at great cost of money and of men. The national capital is a great slave market; in her shambles your brothers are daily offered for sale. Your flag floats over the most wicked commerce on earth—the traffic in men and women. Citizens of the United States breed youths and maidens for sale in the market, as the grazier oxen and swine.

the market, as the grazier oxen and swine.

The Bey of Tunis has abolished slavery, as a The Bey of Tunis has abolished slavery, as a disgrace to Africa and the Mahometan religion. Your Constitution of the United States supports this institution, and binds it upon the free States; the South fondly clings to it; the freemen of the North bend suppliant necks to this yoke. With a few exceptions, your Representatives and Senators in Congress give it their countenance and their vote; their hand and their heart. Your great and famous men are pledged to this, or their silence practically purchased. Seven Presidents silence practically purchased. Soven Presidents of your Christian Democracy have been holders of slaves; three only free from that taint. You of slaves; three only free from that taint. You will soon be called on to elect another slaveholder to sit in the Presidential chair, and rule over a Republic containing twenty millions of men.

In all the Union there is no legal asylum for the fugitive slave; no soil emancipates his harry-ing feet. The States which allow no slavery with-in their limits legally defend the slaveholder: catch and retain the man fleeing for his manhood and his life.

I cannot call upon the political leaders of the nation. You know what they look for, and how hatton. For know what they look for, and how they would treat a letter exposing a national evil, and talking of Truth and Justice. I do not ad-dress you as members of the political parties; they have their great or petty matters to deal with, differing in regard to free trade or protecwith, differing in regard to free trade or protec-tion, but are united in one policy as it respects slavery. Demagogues of both parties will play their little game, and on your shoulders ride into fame, and ease, and wealth, and power, and noise. The sects also have their special work, and need not be addressed on the subject of slavery—of

uman wrong.

I speak to the People, not as sectarians, Protest I speak to the People, not as sectarians, Protest-ant or Catholic—not as Democrats or Whigs, but as Americans and as Men. I solemnly believe, if you all knew the facts of American slavery and its effects, as I know them, that you would end the evil before a twelvemonth had passed by. I take it for granted that you love Justice and Truth. I write to you having confidence in your integrity write to you, having confidence in your integrity and love of men, having confidence also in the Democratic ideas on which a Government should

est.
In what I write you will doubtless find mis-In what I write you will doubtless find mis-takes—errors of fact or of reasoning. I do not ask to be screened from censure, even for what no diligence could wholly escape, only that you will not reject nor refuse to consider the truth of fact and of reasoning which is presented to you. A few mistakes in figures or in reasoning will not affect the general argument of this letter. Read with what prejudice you may, but decide and act according to Reason and Conscience.

STATISTICS AND HISTORY OF SLAVERY.

scoording to Reason and Conscience.

STATISTICS AND HISTORY OF SLAVERY.

I will first call your attention to the Statistics and History of Slavery. In 1790, there were but 697,897 slaves in the Union; in 1840, 2,487,355. At the present day, their number probably is not far from 3,000,000. In 1790, Mr. Gerry estimated their value at \$10,000,000; in 1840, Mr. Clay fixed it at \$1,200,000,000. They are owned by a population of perhaps about 300,000 persons, and represented by about 100,000 voters.

At the time of the Declaration of Independence, slavery existed in all the States; it gradually receded from the North. In the religious colonies of New England it was always unpopular and odious. It was there seen and felt to be utterly inconsistent with the ideas and spirit of their institutions, their churches, and their State itself. After the Revolution, therefore, it speedily disappeared—here perishing by default, there abolished by statute. Thus it successively disappeared from Rhode Island, Massachusetts, New Hampshire, New York, Pennsylvania, and New Jersey. By the celebrated ordinance of 1787, involuntary servityde, except as a punishment after legal conviction of crime, was forever prohibited in the Northwest Territory. Thus the new States, formed in the Western parallels, were, by the action of the Federal Government, at once cut off from that institution. Besides, they were mainly settled by men from the Eastern States, who had neither habits nor principles which favored slavery. Thus Ohio, Indiana, Illinois, Michigan, Wissonsin, and lows, have been without any legal slaves from the beginning.

In the South, the character of the people was different; their manners, their social and political ideas, were unlike those of the North. The South-

question must be settled on other principles. The Constitution gives Congress "power to dispose of and make all needful rules and regulations respecting the territory of the United States." This grant of power is general and vague. To ascertain its extent, we must resort to implication. It has sometimes been contended that the right of self-government was for a time in abeyance or suspended as to the territories. To this view I cannot assent; the right of self-government naturally belongs to every community; that right can religious—of the people. Religion never held so prominent a place in the consciousness of the mass as in the sterner and more austere colonies of the North. In the Southern States—New Jersey, Delaware, Maryland, Virginia, the Carolinas, and Georgia—slavery easily found a footing at an early day. It was not at all repulsive to the ideas, the institutions, and habits of Georgia and South Carolina. The other Southern States protested Consequences follow causes; it is not easy to avoid the results of a first principle. The Northern States, in all their constitutions and social

ern States, in all their constitutions and social structure, consistently and continually tend to Democracy—the Government of all, for all, and by all; to equality before the State and its laws; to moral and political ideas of universal application. In the mean time, the Southern States, in their constitutions and social structure, as consistently tend to Oligarchy—the Government over all, by a few, and for the sake of that few; to privilege, favoritism, and class legislation; to conventional limitations; to the rule of force, and inequality before the law. In such a state of things, when slavery comes, it is welcome. In 1787, South Carolina and Georgia refused to accept the Federal Constitution, unless the right of importing slaves was guarantied to them for twenty years. The new States formed in the Southern parallels—Kentucky, Tennessee, Alabama, Mississippi — retaining the ideas and habits of their parents, kept also the institution of slavery. At the time of forming the Federal Constitution, some of the Southern statesmen were hostile to At the time of forming the Federal Constitution, some of the Southern statesmen were hostile to slavery, and would gladly have got rid of it. Economical considerations prevailed in part, but political and moral objections to it extended yet more widely. The ordinance of 1787, the work mainly of the same man who drafted the Declaration of Independence, passed with little opposition. The proviso for surrendering fugitive slaves came from a Northern hand. Subsequently opposition to slavery in the North and the

slaves came from a Northern hand. Subsequently, opposition, to slavery, in the North and the South, became less. The culture of cotton, the wars in Europe creating a demand for the productions of American agriculture, had rendered slave labor more valuable. The day of our own oppression was more distant and forgotten. So in 1802, when Congress purchased from Georgia the western part of her territory, it was easy for the South to extend slavery over that virgin soil. the South to extend slavery over that virgin soil In 1803, Louisiana was purchased from France; then, or in 1804, when it was organized into two Territories, it would have been easy to apply the ordinance of 1787, and prevent slavery from extending beyond the original thirteen States. But tending beyond the original thirteen States. But though some provisions restricting slavery were made, the ideas of that ordinance were forgotten. Since that time, five new States have been formed out of territory acquired since the Revolution: Louisians, Missouri, Arkansas, Florida, Texas, all slave States—the last two with Constitutions aiming to make slavery perpetual. The last of these was added to the Union on the 22d of December, 1845, two hundred and twenty-five years after the day when the Forefathers first set foot after the day when the Forefathers first set foot on Plymouth Rock; while the sons of the Pilgrims were eating and drinking and making men ry, the deed of annexation was completed, and slavery extended over nearly 400,000 square miles of new territory, whence the semi-Mexicans had driven it out.

Slavery might easily have been abolished at the time of the Declaration of Independence. Indeed, in 1774, the Continental Congress, in their celebrated "non-importation agreement." mealural accounts the continent of the contine "non-importation agreement," resolved never to import or purchase any slaves after the last of De port or purchase any slaves after the last of De-cember, in that year. In 1775, they declare in a "report" that it is not possible "for men who exercise their reason to believe that the Divine Au-thor of our existence intended a part of the hu-man race to hold an absolute property in and un-bounded powers over others." Indeed, the Decla-ration itself is a denial of the national right to allow the existence of slavery: "We hold these truths to be self-evident, that all men are created equal; that they are endowed by their Creator with certain unalienable rights; that among these are [the right to] life, liberty, and the pursuit of

are [the right to] life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness; that to secure these rights Governments are instituted among men, deriving their just powers from the consent of the governed."

But the original draft of this paper contained a condemnation yet more explicit: "He [the King of England] has waged cruel war against human nature itself; violating its most sacred rights of life and liberty in the persons of a distant people who never offended him; captivating and carrying them into slavery. Determined to keep open a market where men should be bought and sold, he has prostituted his negative for suppressing every legislative attempt to prohibit or restrain this execrable commerce." This clause, says its author himself, "was struck out in compliance to South Carolina and Georgia, who had never attempted to restrain the importation of slaves, and who, on the contrary, still wished to continue it. Our Northern brethren also, I believe, felt a little tender under these censures; for though their people have very few slaves them for though their people have very few slaves them-selves, yet they had been pretty considerable carriers of them to others."

These were not the sentiments of a single en-

These were not the sentiments of a single enthusiastic young Republican. Dr. Rush, in the Continental Congress, wished "the Colonies to discourage slavery, and encourage the increase of the free inhabitants." Another member of the American Congress declared, in 1779, "Men are by nature free," "the right to be free can never be alienated." In 1776, Dr. Hopkins, the head of the New England divines, declared that "Slavery is, in every instance, wrong, unrighteous, and oppressive; a very great and crying sin."

In the articles of Confederation, adopted in 1778, no provision is made for the support of slavery; none for the delivery of fugitives. Slavery is not once referred to in that document. The General Government had nothing to do with it. "If any slave clopes to those States where slaves are free," said Mr. Madison in 1787, "he becomes emancipated by their laws." ncipated by their laws."

DEBATES IN THE CONVENTION OF 1787.

In the Convention of 1787, which drafted the present Constitution of the United States, this matter of slavery was abundantly discussed; it was the great obstacle in the way of forming the Union, as now of keeping it. But for the efforts of South Carolina, it is probable slavery would have been abolished by the Constitution. The South claimed the right of sending Representatives to Congress on account of their slaves. Mr. Patterson, of New Jersey, contended, that as the slaves had no Representative or vote at home, their masters could not claim additional votes in Congress on account of the slaves. Nearly all the speakers in that Convention, except the members from South Carolina and Georgia, referred to the slave trade with horror. Mr. Gerry, of Massachusetts, declared, in the Convention, that DEBATES IN THE CONVENTION OF 1787. LOWER SARDAW MICHEAN, the continued of the South Carolina, it is probable always would have been abolished by the Constitution. The South Carolina, the special continued to the special continued t

"would never accede to the Constitution, if it prohibits the slave trade;" she "would not stop her importation of slaves in any short time." Said Mr. Rutledge, of South Carolina, "the people of the Carolinas and Georgia will never be such fools as to give up so important an interest." That the constitutional question "Religion and humanity have nothing to do with this question. Interest alone is the governing principle with nations." In apportioning taxes, be thought three slaves quest to be counted as the prime one with them, there can be little doubt. Your armour, then, was as complete on this subject, as a transfer or the prime one with them, was as complete on this subject, as a proposed necessary. Said Mr. Rutledge, of South Carolina, "the people of the Carolinas and Georgia will never be such fools as to give up so important an interest." "Religion and humanity have nothing to do with this question. Interest alone is the governing principle with nations." In apportioning taxes, he thought three slaves ought to be counted as but one free man; while in apportioning Representatives, his colleagues—Messrs. Butler and Pinckney—declared, "the blacks ought to stand on an equality with the whites." Mr. Pinckney Pinckney—declared, "the blacks ought to stand on an equality with the whites." Mr. Pinckney would "make blacks equal to whites in the ratio of representation;" he went further—he would have "some security against an emancipation of slaves;" and, says Mr. Madison, "seemed to wish some provision should be included [in the Constitution] in favor of property in slaves." "South Carolina and Georgia," said Mr. Pinckney, "cannot do without slaves." "The importation of slaves would be for the interest of the whole Union; the more slaves, the more produce to employ the carrying trade, the more consumption also."

On the other hand, Mr. Bedford, of Delaware, thought "South Carolina was puffed up with her wealth and her negroes." Mr. Madisen, cool and far-sighted, always referring to first principles, was unwilling to allow the importation of slaves till 1808: "Solong a term will be more dishonorable to the American character than to say nothing about it in the Cangitution."

ble to the American character than to say nothing about it in the Constitution."

Mr. Williamson, of North Carolina, in 1783, thought "slaves an encumbrance to society," and was "both in opinion and practice against slavery." Colonel Mann, of Virginia, in the Convention, called the slave trade an "infernal traffic," and said that "Slavery discourages arts and manufactures; the poor despise labor when performed by slaves." "They produce the most pernicious effect on manners. Every master of slaves is born a petty tyrant. They bring the judgment of Heaven on a country." Mr. Dickinson, of Delaware, thought it "inadmissible, on every principle of honor and safety, that the importation of slaves should be authorized." Gouverneur Morris, of Pennsylvania, "never could concur in upholding domestic slavery." It was a "nefarious institution;" "the curse of Heaven was on the States where it prevailed!" Are the was on the States where it prevailed!" Are the slaves men? "then make them citizens, and let them vote. Are they property? Why, then, is no other property included [in the ratio of repre-sentation?] The houses in this city [Philadel-phia] are worth more than all the wretched slaves who cover the rice swamps of South Carolina." Mr. Gerry declared, we "ought to be careful not to give any sanction to it."

Mr. Gerry declared, we "ought to be careful not to give any sanction to it."

All the North was at first opposed to slavery and the slave trade. Both parties seemed obstinate; the question of "taxes on exports" and of "navigation laws," remained to be decided. Gouverneur Morris recommended that the whole subject of slavery might be referred to a committee, "including the clauses relating to the taxes on exports, and to the navigation laws. These things may form a bargain among the Northern and Southern States." Says Luther Martin, "I found the Eastern States, notwithstanding their aver-Southern States." Says Lutner Martin, "I tound the Eastern States, notwithstanding their aversion to slavery, were very willing to indulge the Southern States, at least with a temporary liberty to prosecute the slave trade, provided the Southern States would in their turn gratify them by ern states would in their turn grantly them by laying no restriction on navigation acts." The North began to understand, if the contemplated navigation laws should be enacted, that, as Mr. Grayson afterwards said, "all the produce of the Southern States will be carried by the Northern Chattan at their own tames which must be high?" States on their own terms, which must be high. Mr. Clymer, of Pennsylvania, declared, "The Western and Middle States will be ruined, if not enabled to defend themselves against foreign sachusetts, said, "The Eastern States had no motives to union but a commercial one." The proffered compromise would favor their commercial interests. It was for the commercial interest of the South, said Mr. Pinckney, to have no restrictions upon commerce; but "considering the loss brought on the Eastern States by the Revolution, and their liberal conduct towards the views of South Carolina, [in consenting to allow slavery and the importation of slaves,] he thought that no fetters should be imposed on the power of making commercial regulations, and his constituents would be reconciled to the liberality." So the North took the boon, and winked at the "infernal traffic." When the question was put, there were in favor of the importation of slaves, Georgia, the two Carolinas, and Maryland, with New Hampshire, Massachusetts, and Connecticut. Opposed to it were—Pennsylvania, New Jersey, Delaware, and Virginia! Subsequently, Mr. Ames, in the Massachusetts Convention for the adoption of the Constitution, said, the Northern States "have great advantages by it in respect of navigation?" in the Virginia Convention, Patrick Henry said, "Tobacco will always make our peace with them," for at that time cotton was imported from India, not having become a staple of the South. When the article which binds the free States to deliver up the fugitive slaves came to be veted on, it was a new feature in American legislation: not hinted the fugitive slaves came to be voted on, it was a new feature in American legislation; not hinted at in the "Articles of Confederation;" hostile to the well-known principles of the common law of England—which always favors liberty—and the England—which always favors interty—and the usages and principles of modern civilized nations. Yet new as it was, and hostile, it seems not a word was said against it in the Convention. It "was agreed to, nem. con." Yet "the Northern Delegates," says Mr. Madison, "owing to their particular scruples on the subject of slavery, did not choose the word slave to be mentioned." In the Conventions of the square Status it seems no re-

Conventions of the several States, it seems no remonstrance was made to this article.

Luther Martin, returning home, said to the House of Delegates, in Maryland, "At this time we do not generally hold this commerce in so great abhorrence as we have done; when our libgreat abhorrence as we have done; when our lib-erties were at stake, we warmly felt for the com-mon rights of men; the danger being thought to be past, we are daily growing more insensible to their rights."

[TO BE CONTINUED.] THE CONSTITUTION-SOVER EIGHTY-SLA-

LOWER SAGINAW, MICHIGAN,

you supposed necessary.

Again: you have disclaimed for yourself, and reprobated in others, any leadership in the Anti-Slavery cause. I do not say that this was im-Slavery cause. I do not say that this was improper; only that it was superfluous. I have noticed that those who claimed leadership in any cause are unworthy of it, and, generally speaking, fail in their object. But as long as some people have a firmer will, a better intellect, give more attention to an interesting subject of reform, and are more successful in understanding it than others—their sincerity being unsuspected—there will be leadership given to them voluntarily, and almost impercentibly, however their modesty may

will be leadership given to them voluntarily, and almost imperceptibly, however their modesty may lead them to disclaim it. In the circumstances I have mentioned, it may be considered unavoidable. Therefore, the opinions of the Era ought to be right, ought to be reasonable; for, whatever may be your complaints that "some Anti-Slavery man" do not "understand" you, and will not agree with you, be assured they never will rest satisfied, indeed they never ought, with any opinion, come from what quarter it may, on so important a subject as the constitutional one, till they see that it coincides with known truths; in fine, till it is reasonable, and can be defended on the grounds of reason.

till it is reasonable, and can be defended on the grounds of reason.

These subjects would not have been introduced, or even adverted to, on the present occasion, if it had not been considered necessary; and now, leaving out every other, suggested by your remarks on my opinions of the Constitution, I wish to give, in as brief a manner as I can, the only true view of that instrument, in its supposed connections with slavery, as it is entertained by myself in common with many others. self, in common with many others.

It has always been a hard thing—I suppose an

It has always been a hard thing—I suppose an impossible one—to support an unsound theory, by a full conviction, a sensible exhibition, of other truths that may be deemed necessary for that purpose. They are obscure, and sometimes unintentionally perverted—for instance, on the one hand, by the partisan of State rights, and, on the other, of a consolidated Government. To come to a proper conclusion, to see clearly all the truths connected with a sound position, we must construct the instrument submitted to us by itself, with no reference to a particular party bias which may insensibly to a particular party bias which may insensibly influence us. What would we think of the impartiality of a judge who should happen to be a warm Democratic or Whig partisan, and who was in the habit of construing every contract according to his party views? We should be certain that such an one had not arrived at the truth, and that he never could, till he put aside his party liens, and considered each contract according to the expressed intent of those making it. These remarks are made, because the last paragraphs of marks are made, because the last paragraphs of your comments on my letter—saying nothing of your editorial life heretofore—convinced me that you are a partisan of State rights, and alarmed—although the result of every conflict between the General Government and a State ought to abate your alarm on that side—lest these rights should be engulfed in a consolidated Government. And were it not for these alarms, perhaps now become so habitual as to disoualify you in a great measwere it not not these airms, perhaps now become
so habitual as to disqualify you, in a great measure, from arriving at a true judgment with regard to the Constitution, you would not, in the
aforesaid paragraphs—for I know it is foreign
from you, when you would maintain a good cause—
less the question to be determined or take for grantbeg the question to be determined, or take for granted the very subject in dispute.

Under this bias, the inalienability of sovereign-

not enabled to defend themselves against foreign regulations;" will be ruined if they do not have some navigation laws, giving Americans an advanse of well understood, and so entirely recognised as tage over foreign vessels. Mr. Gorham, of Mas-sachusetts, said, "The Eastern States had no mo-that no formal proof was deemed necessary. Nor is, any evidence of its truth would be required, especially as the United States, with regard to whites, acted on it every day. But in this I was mistaken. "The essential premise" is denied, and it is said that my statement "cannot be true." and it is said that my statement "cannot be true." Now, in order that there may be no ground of complaint, and that I may not at the same time furnish anything superfluous in so plain a case, Vattel, one of the best and most common authorities among us, in his 1st book, chap. 5, see. 69, says that "Every true sovereignty is multienable in its own nature." The reasoning of the author on the principle may be found in the same section.

Now notwithstanding the Frage positive denial

Now, notwithstanding the Era's positive denial, as quoted above, the principle is so plain, so invariably acted on by our Government, with the exception of the slaves and colored people, that the case cited by it is in derogation of its own doctrine, and in direct confirmation of the common one; that is, if in the haze which surrounds it I can describe the surrounds it I can describe the surrounds it. one; that is, if in the haze which surrounds it I can descry its true course. It was never affirmed—never intended to be affirmed—and there is, as it seems to me, no part of my argument, condensed as it is, from which an inference could fairly be drawn, that the "competent authority"—with us, "the people"—oould not make the General Government the medium by which sovereignty or power might be transmitted to others. What was meant, and what was thought sufficiently explicit. meant, and what was thought sufficiently explicit, was, that the General Government could not, of was, that the General Government could not, or itself, in virtue of its present possession of the "power," alienate it. If the General Government were entirely unrestrained in this matter—if the "power" confided by the people to them, and to no other, could be alienated—why confine them to a State, making part of the United States? Why not permit them to alienate, for instance, the prove of pretecting the whole, for instance, the power of protecting the whole or a certain number of our population, to a State of Europe, or Asia, or Africa? For, if the General Governor Asia, or Africa? For, if the General Government has the right to alienate power as sovereignty confided to it, and to no one else, not to be alienated, but used solely for the public good, they have the further right, as there is nothing to prevent them, to go where they can make the best bargain. I wish to be fully understood here. I believe the people can bestow as much or as little power as they choose on the General Government; that they can bestow it for any time they please, be it short or long: that they can make the General Government. that they can bestow it for any time they please, be it short or long; that they can make the General Government the medium of conveying power to others, but that they never have done so in a single instance that I am aware of.

In discussing the inalienability of power, the Era says: "It is inalienable by the Government of the confidence of the confid

THE NATIONAL ERA.

WASHINGTON, JANUARY 6, 1848.

There has been quite a panic in New York, in consequence of the failure of two or three country banks. The following banks have failed: Lewiston Bank, Pennsylvania.

Mount Hope Delaware Bridge Co., N. Jersey. Atlas Bank, New York.

James Bank, New York. If banks fail while their notes are on the transi the loss will be on those that send. We guarante the safety of the mails, not the solvency of the

MR. CLINGMAN AND MR. PARKER.

We are indebted to Mr. Clingman, of North Carolina, for a copy of his speech; and to Mr. Parker, of Boston, for the sheets of his Letter to the People of the United States. We have divided both in sections, and shall publish them side by side, on our first page, beginning this week, and running through several numbers. In no better way can we present both sides of a great question. Our Southern exchanges will see that we like fair play, and free discussion. Why will they not give the opponents of slavery a hearing in the same way?

MR. BIRNEY'S LETTER.

We wished to make room for this letter sooner but were unable to do so. As it is, we cannot pay it the attention to which the character of its author, to say nothing of its own merits, entitles it. Returning from a hurried trip to New York, we have scarcely been able to dispose of matters more imperatively requiring notice. On examination of the letter, should we deem that the cause of Truth would be promoted by the further discussion of the questions it presents, we shall take an early opportunity to give our views.

We greatly regret that John Smith the Younger, owing to unavoidable absence, has been obliged to postpone the continuation of his new Portrait till next week.

PORTRAITS FOR THE PEOPLE.

CONTRIBUTORS.

We have on hand several poetic contribution of much merit. They shall soon see the light The one on our fourth page has been long in type. "Napoleon at the Death of Duroc," &c., will appear next week.

THE NEW YEAR AND THE NEW VOLUME.

We have two important events to announce this week-a new year, and a new volume of the Era; but, as we forgot both till the last moment when the paper was full, we can now only say, to each patron and friend, may this year of your life be better than all former ones, and this year of the Era like unto it.

INDEX.

As we did not wish to encumber our last num ber with an index, which would have occupied one-fourth of the paper, we concluded to print i on a separate sheet, striking off a sufficient num ber of copies to be kept subject to the order of subscribers. Many do not file their papers; others who have been keeping files of the Era, and wish an index, will be promptly furnished, on application, made by letter, postpaid.

THE SATURDAY VISITER.

This is the title of a new Anti-Slavery paper in Pittsburg, which takes the place of the Alba tross. It is edited and issued by Mrs. JANE G. Swisshelm. We have been much interested in the few numbers received at our office. The editor is independent, spirited, and industrious; and the Anti-Slavery people of Pittsburg do not sus tain her, we shall be greatly surprised.

The holydays left but little time for the trans action of business in Congress the last week. A brief glance at the course of proceedings will serve to keep up a connected view of its action.

ANTI-SLAVERY PETITIONS IN THE HOUSE. - Sev eral Anti-Slavery petitions have been presente in the House; one has been referred to the Judiciary Committee, it would seem, by accident; the rest have been laid upon the table. No discrimi nation is made in relation to them. Some pray for the extinction of slavery in the States by Congressional legislation; some, for the abolition slavery in the District; some, for the appropri tion of the proceeds of the public lands work of general emancipation; some, for an alter ation in the Constitution which will authorize the General Government to act upon the subject. All are treated alike-received with little excite ment, and laid upon the table, by small majorities generally a little more than two-thirds of the mer bers voting. What might be the result of a full vote, we do not know, but are inclined to think that it would be more favorable than the presen disposition of the petitions. Now that the holy days are over, we may expect better attendance and non-voters will be more narrowly watched Honesty is the best policy. Members of Congress should be men enough to record their votes

fearlessly on every important question, or resign CORPORATIONS AND POSTAGE.—Another subject of interest in the House, was the debate on the reement between the Postmaster General and the Richmond and Fredericksburg Railroad Company. That the transportation of the mail south has been obstructed by this cause is well known, but why the blame should be laid upon

the Postmaster General we cannot understand

The law of Congress on the subject of contracts, &c., seemed to be susceptible of two con structions. Mr. Johnson adopted that by which he has been enabled to reduce the expenses of transportation, and facilitate the experiment cheap postage. This diminished the profits of the railroad corporations, but their compenfar as we have been able to judge, was still reas able. Hitherto, Mr. Johnson, uninterfered with has been able to bring these corporations to terms; but the company referred to appears to think that, by the combined aid of merchants' meetings, editorial bluster, and Congressional inter position, it can defeat the economical arrangements of the Department, and secure assent to its own terms. It is easy to see that, should Congress lend its power to reverse the policy of the Postmaster General, every road corporation in the country would feel emboldened, and the ultimate result would be, exorbitant demands for transportation, and, if they were not yielded to, truction of the mails, with great inconvenience to the People, which the Press would then coolly ascribe to the parsimonious folly of the Postmas-

We hope Congress will hesitate long before it will venture to interfere with the policy of a Department, the rigidly economical management of which is so vital to the success of the system of low postage, and to the policy of a further reduc-

House in the discussion of the question of the Mexican war. We present, in another column, a synopsis of the debate on the motion of Gen. ss, made last Thursday, to take up the bill for ing ten additional regiments of regular forces. tie vote shows a disposition in the Senate to seed with some deliberation; but the avowals ors. Clayton and Mangum, in favor of the policy of granting military supplies, afford ground for the prediction that the Whigs of this Con gress will follow the example set them by their predecessors in the last, in granting all that the

noney to secure for a war they abhor the most iumphant success! Persistence in inconsistency so gross, argues a total want of elevated statesanship, and an absence of that high moral sense which ought to govern the conduct of those who

spire to legislate for a Christian Republic. We rejoice that Mr. Hale met the question boldly, and avowed purposes in entire harmony with principles. We trust that, when the crisis shall come, many more may be found, voting their own honest convictions, not talking one way and oting another, not condemning themselves in what they allow, and bewailing what, being in their power to prevent, is effectuated by their

Mr. Mangum, it will be seen, intimated a pur pose to vote for the bill, but in such a way as to throw the responsibility on the President! Were the Senators puppets of the President, could they lay aside their manhood, that policy might be possible; but they can give no vote in that Senate for which the People and the Ruler of Nations will not hold them individually responsible. "If hou forbear to deliver them that are drawn unto leath, and those that are ready to be slain; if hou sayest behold, we knew it not, doth not He hat pondereth the heart consider it? and He that keepeth thy soul, doth not He know it? And shall not He render unto every man according to

We have at times observed a disposition on the part of members of the Senate to appeal to a Higher Power, to recognise reverently his justice, and his claims upon their obedience. If rev erence be indeed a habit of their minds, we commend to their attention the language of inspiration. Whether they believe it divine or not, one thing is certain: it sets forth, in emphatic style. a Truth as solemn as Eternity, and as enduring And, after all, what an idle threat is this! To throw the responsibility on the President! What cares he? He loves responsibility; in all our proceedings with Mexico he has never hesitated to assume responsibility. His last annual message betrayed no timidity, no shrinking, no desire to evade all the responsibilities growing out of this Mexican war. Of all follies, that seems to us the most egregious, which thinks to intimi-date the President, by granting him all the men and the money he demands for the vigorous prosecution of the war. Why, it is the only course which can strengthen his position. Every act of the kind, sanctioned by the Whigs, he regards as tribute to the wisdom of his reco an evidence of the correctness of his course. So long as Whig votes shall be given to carry on the war vigorously, our Democratic President will be sure to wage it with redoubled energy, and with steadily augmenting demands for indemnity

DINNER TO COMMODORE STOCKTON.

The admirers of Commodore Stockton gave him public dinner, at Philadelphia, last Thursday vening. Some five or six hundred guests sat down to a bountiful entertainment in the Musical Fund Hall. The wine flowed freely, if the wit did not. Patriotic toasts were drunk uproariously. Military and Naval gentlemen shone like little suns through the clouds of plebeians that hovered about them. All glowed with the inspiration of the occasion, and the Hall shook with the violence of their extatic paroxysms.

Passing through Philadelphia on business, we availed ourself of the occasion just to look in upon the goodly company, and improve our knowledge of human nature. And a great deal of it we saw there that evening. The Commodore, after having received the fire of the company for some time with signal firmness, brought his ship into action, and delivered a broadside with his characteristic bravery.

But we have no room for description. Enough to say, that the Commodore gave it as his opinion that all the insults offered by Mexico had been wiped out in blood. As for indemnity, that was No American would weigh blood against money. We were rich, and ought to be magnanimous. It was our duty, our religious duty, to raise thousands of soldiers and million of money to establish a permanent, peaceful, independent Government in Mexico. The Comodore is quite a pleasant speaker, gives utternce sometimes to highly generous sentiments but cherishes marvellous ideas concerning the ission of this country. He had a queer set of issionaries to listen to him.

NOTHER PUBLIC DINNER-THE MILITARY

A public dinner was given in Washington, las Friday evening, to Generals Quitman and Shields. The Vice President was present; the Speaker o the House of Representatives sent his apology, pleading a prior and unavoidable engagement, but acknowledging the high honor done him by the nvitation to attend. The Constitution, the President, the Heads of Departments, Congress, the Supreme Judiciary, "Our Distinguished Guests," he Memory of Washington, the Memory of the Fallen Brave, the Army, the Navy, the Flag, he Union, and Woman, were all toasted.

We have not a word to say personally against hese gentlemen thus publicly entertained; but we do not like such entertainments. If the camp be indeed glorious; if the passion for war be holy one; if military life be deserving of especia honor, military services of paramount value; if i be desirable to foster a military aristocracy, and train the minds of our young men to contemn the arts of peace, and long for the trappings of the pauletted gentry, then are these public dinners o Generals and Commodores reasonable and be-

When woman honors with her sweetest smiles he man of the camp, when solemn Senators renler him profoundest obeisance, and the Press bows before him with words of humblest adulation, can we wonder that the spirit of war, with its senseless vanity and revolting arrogance and vainglorious pretension, is making rapid inroads upon the simplicity and equality of Republicane

Heroes abound on every side. The citizen's garb is disdained. The drawing-room, the public walk, the Senate Chamber, are startled with the glare of military array. Is it of vital importance to the public, does the safety of the country demand that these men of the army should be assailing our eyes every day with their multitudinous buttons and gilded finery? Why keep the poor people in an agony of perpetual admiration? Does not the Government allow them salary enough to provide themselves with a gentleman's

If this fashion continue, we submit whether miforms ought not to be adopted by other classes of public servants. The Judges already robe themselves in black gowns upon the bench. Why lay these aside when they go abroad? A Senator might wear a blue belt, with twenty-nine stars emblazoned upon it, symbolical of the States represented by the distinguished body of which he is a member. Representatives should adorn them-selves with cocked hats and white sashes, to indicate that they are alike prepared for peace or war. Why should these military people, who have been exploding gunpowder for the good of the Republic, be deemed worthy of more honor than their civic brethren who have been explod-

ing their lungs for the same praiseworthy object? There is some little palliation for the Demo-crats. They think, or profess to think, the war to the whiskered heroes, and glorify them, is not very incongruous. But, here are the Whigs, filled with a most devout horror of this particular war— they have just voted in the House of Representathan for them to denounce it as waged for the extension of slavery—and yet, who so see emost, upon almost all occasions, in offering up ease to the fighters who have enabled the Pres-

ident to carry on successfully this war, "unnecessarily and unconstitutionally begun" by him, and waged for the extension of slave territory ! It is painful to dwell upon these shameful incon-

We knew our invocation would not be uneeded. Our friend, WILLIAM D. GALLAGHER, has given us a Poem, which will endear him to the sons of toil, wherever and as long as the English language is spoken.

For the National Era THE ARTISAN.

The day is past;—the quiet night Toward its midhour weareth on; His work-shop has been closed for hour A good day's labor done. The toil is hard that brings him bread And sometimes he hath scant supply When droops awhile his manly head And glistens his full eye.

For he has youth, and strength, and will; And though his toil is ill repaid, Bends daily to it still. He sometimes murmurs,—but his pride Checks each expression at its birth,— That blessings to his class denied

Yet from the trial shrinks he not;

He passes, morn, and noon, and night And glances at their gilded ease His eye will take by stealth And shadows gather on his face, At times—but instantly depart— He feels such weakness a disgrace

Both to his head and hear

His calling sometimes takes him where And lovely looks his sight ;-Yet ere his welcome work is done. He longs for home, and Mary's eyes,

His labor hath been light to-day; And wife and child before him sleep And he has pass'd the half-spent night In study close and deep. The lamp burns dim—the fire is low— The book is closed wherein he read; But wildly swell the streams of Thought

With eyes fixed calmly on the floor, But varying and expressive face. He cons the lesson o'er and o'er— The history of his race.

And much he finds of word and deed, Whose virtue is example now; But more that makes his bosom bleed,

The thirst for wealth-the strife for power-The ceaseless struggle for renown— The daring that hath seized a realm, Or caught a wavering crown—
The manhood that hath tamely bent
And fall'n beneath tyrannic sway—
The balk'd resistance, that hath lent

Its darkness to the day :-But chiefly this it is that fills The swelling volume of his mind The countless wrongs and cruelties
That have oppress'd his kind.
And viewing them, upon his brain
His own hard struggles darkly throng; And as he feels their weight again He also deems of wrong

Wrong to himself, and wrong to all "A yoke!" up-starting he exclaims, "And oh, how meekly worn!" But as he reads Life's riddle still, He feels, with sudden change of mood The stern, the indomitable will, That never was subdued.

The will, not to destroy, but build! Which took the piliars in its grasp, And shook the temple down-But that whose patient energy Until the pierced and parted sea

In the dim firelight, for a while, Then by the couch of those he loves, Ye ask not splendor—bide not pow'r— But in a humble home like this.

Ye have your triumph hour! He sleeps-but even on his dreams Obtrudes the purpose of his soul He wanders where the living street And where men win their own good wave

Not yield to doubt, or dark despair, n dreams his bounding spirit strays-With stronger arm, with mightier heart, Than he hath felt or known before,

When comes the morrow's hour of toil, He'll leave his humble door. Until the new-seen goal be won;

And this it is, that year by year, Through which nor faith nor hope grows less Pursued, shall crown his high career
With honor and success.
This—this it is that marks the man!

This lesson lies, rouse up at once Give to thy free soul freest thought: And whatsoe'er it prompts thee do That manfully, year in year out,

What though thy name may not be heard Afar, or shouted through the town, Thou'lt win a higher meed of praise, Press on, then!-Earth has need of thee The axe is rusting by the tree

Heed not who works not—labor thou!

Lay bravely hold, nor pause, nor shrink!

Life's Rubicon is here—and stand Not dubious on the brink!

THEORIES CONCERNING DIET-PROFESSOR

Eating is a great operation. The table is on of the most important of domestic institutions; the source of comfort or misery, health or disease, life or death, according as its privileges are sed or abused. It is an institution almost peculiar to civilized life, and the barbarian who would abolish or impoverish it, is a fee to civilization. So long as the stomach shall maintain its place in the centre of the animal system, supplying not only muscle, but brain, exercising a controlling influence not only over motion, but thought; diffusing a feeling of strength, a consciousness of joyous existence, and attuning the whole nervous system so that it shall catch the slightest impressions from without, and respond to the faint-est touch of the mind within; or, clogging the wheel of life at the fountain, unstringing every muscle, making every nerve a medium of pain, urning the temper into wormwood and gall, and paralyzing the power of thought-just as its operation may be healthful or otherwise—so long will eating and drinking be deemed matters of vital import, and dietetical discussions be read with

We are not quite so far gone with one idea assume that offences against the stomach are at the bottom of all diseases; but were it possible to understand fully, in all cases, what should be eaten and drunk, and how much, and would all men then guide themselves accordingly, we are ome an obsolete idea. But this panacea for health we suppose unattainable. So or careless are those who have the care of childr.n, that few people come to years of maturity with perfectly sound digestive organs. The stomach of the infant pays the penalty of his mother's imprudence. Excess or impropriety viti-ates the milk, and the poor babe writhes with the colic. Another, stuffed with pap, moans his distress, while an undigested surplus tortures the intestinal canal. Others swallow boluses of fat pork before they can masticate, and are drenched with green coffee strong enough to palsy the brains

as, we please, and swilling all sorts of drinks. The wonder is that so many run the gauntlet alive. But arrived at years of discretion, the great digestive apparatus is predisposed to disorder; our habits

sible for us to say what is good and wholesome. As for theorists, we put no faith in them; whether they undertake to prescribe a man's diet, ac-cording to certain metaphysical dogmas, as to the ntentions of the Creator; or from an examination of the structure of his teeth; or from a chemical orrespondence between certain edibles and the various tissues of the body. The truth is, it is impossible to lay down infallible rules for the preserva-tion of health. Bathing is by some deemed indispensable Doubtless, it is wholesome, cleanly, and luxurious; but we know a man now plodding on towards ninety, with all his senses perfect, and who has never had a "regular-built" spell of sickness, who yet has never practiced bathing. We knew a man given to nice speculation, who concluded that he would live on vegetable diet, without salt, and eat plenty of apples. He got on bravely, looked ruddy, and never tasted water, or any kind of drink, for nearly half a year. Another experimenter might have been killed by the

Physicians pronounce, dogmatically, that hot bread is a curse to the stomach, and stale bread always the thing. Now, we, for one, can bear witness that light, well-baked, hot rolls, agree with us charmingly, while stale bread too often for our comfort, has produced the heartburn. Cucumbers are proscribed by the Art, as poisonous; but we know of persons not remarkable for robustness, in whom digestion is promoted by a moderate use of that vegetable. Whether the differences in digestive capacity depend upon original constitution or peculiarities of organization or function produced by long continued habit, is not of so much importance, as the fact that they do exist, and, for the most part, are beyond correction. "Man! know thyself"-that is to say, thy digestionwisdom centres there.

These remarks have been suggested by a spirited article in Blackwood's Magazine, on "The Nutritive Qualities of the Bread now in use, by Professor Johnson." By an analysis of the chemical composition of wheat, in the forms of wheat meal, fine flour, and bran, he is conducted to the conclusion that wheat meal is the article out of which the most wholesome and nutritive bread can

This is the theory: The solid parts of the hualso, contains these three ingredients. Hence its adaptation to man's necessities.

"Now," says Professor Johnson, "it is self-evident that that food must be the most nourishing which supplies all these ingredients of the body most abundantly on the whole, or in proportions most suited to the actual wants of the individual

The reader will perceive that the two propositions are distinct, and very unlike. If that food is most nourishing which supplies all these ingredients most abundantly, then we need nothing more than agricultural chemistry to instruct us in dietetics. Whatever the article may be, which, according to its analysis, shall contain the largest quantity of these ingredients, that article should be chosen above all others for food. It is altogethly needless to ascertain anything about the state capacity, or peculiarity of digestion in different persons. There can be no uncertainty in the case—there can be do differences of adaptation

What is nourishing for one must be so for all. The other proposition is, that that food is mos nourishing which supplies all these ingredients "in proportions most suited to the actual wants of the individual animal to which it is given." Everything here is uncertain. Agricultural chemistry can afford but one material for forming a correct judgment. We shall have to ascertain, before its revelations can benefit us, what are the actual wants of the individual: how much fat, how much bone. how much muscle, each man wants, and that not every meal, could be ascertained, the next thing | tude 31 deg., the other in 33 deg. would be for the agricultural chemist to subject pen that a poor fellow, with his mouth in order for a plum pudding, would learn, to his dismay, that, according to scientific analysis, that

actual wants! It is obvious that the last proposition is absurd; so that the Professor is thrown necessarily upon the former one. And, sure enough, this he seems disposed to maintain; for he proceeds to show by experiments that whole meal is certainly more nourishing to the human body than fine flour, because it contains a larger amount

of bone, muscle, and fat, than the latter. Thus: " The fat .- Of this ingredient, a thousand pounds of the— Whole grain contains - - -

Whole meal then, is, richer in fat than fine flour, and bran is twice as rich in fat as whole meal. "2. Muscular matter.—The particular results in "A thousand pounds of the whole grain and of the fine flour contained of muscular matter, re-

Indian corn - 140 lbs. 110 lbs. "Of the material out of which the animal m cle is to be formed, the whole meal or grain of wheat contains one-fifth more than the finest flour does. For maintaining muscular strength, therefore, it must be more valuable in an equal proportion. "3. Of bone material and saline matter." Of these,

"3. Of bone material and saline matter?" Of these,
"a thousand pounds of bran, whole meal, and fine
flour, contain, respectively—
Bran - - 700 lbs.
Whole meal - - 170 lbs. Fine flour - 60 10s.
"So that in regard to this important part of

compound necessary to all living animals, but especially the young who are growing and to the mother who is giving milk, the whole meal is three times more nourishing than the fine flour." If this inference be sound, then the bran, which contains eleven times as much bone, is, in regard

to this important part of our food, eleven times more nourishing than fine flour, especially to the little chaps who are growing, and to the mother who is giving milk! "Our case is now made out," says the Profes or. "Weight for weight, the whole grain or meal is more rich in all these essential elements of a nutritive food than the fine flour of wheat." Ex-

actly so; but that is not all. Weight for weight, bran is far "more rich in all these three essential elements of a nutritive food" than even the whole Our case is also made out; and we submi

to nursing mothers, whether they ought not to selves on bran slops, and their babes on The learned Professor, as he proceeds in his

argument, stumbles across this very idea: "Some ne may remark," he says, "if all this good is to some from the mere use of the bran, why not recmmend it to be withheld from the pigs?" He argues that there would be no saving in all this," going into quite an elaborate statement on this point.
"Besides," he adds, "if eaten alone, bran would prove too difficult, and, therefore, slow of digestion in most stomachs." We think so; still, for the sake of manufacturing plenty of bone, and growing fat and muscle, why not train the stomich to overcome the difficulty?

What absurdities some theorists involve them selves in! Whole meal contains a greater amount of the ingredients of the human body than fine lour, and, therefore, says Dr. Johnson, it is far hese ingredients than whole meal, and, therefore, by the same rule of reasoning, is far more neurishing! No, says the Professor, it is difficult of dition! Ah! the nourishing quality of an article does not then depend alone upon the amount of "these three ingredients?" Then, what be

ourishing than fine flour?

After all these elaborate analyses, and their After all these elaborate analyses, and their ing the less wealthy or poor freemen between mposing parade of learning, we come back to the them, as between an upper and nether millstone,

are bad; our tastes perverted; it is almost impos- old ground—that of observation of the effects of the various edibles upon the stomach and the system; and here every one ought to be able to judge for himself. Whole meal will suit some better than fine flour, and corn meal will prove more nealthful to some, than either. Of far more importance is it to attend to the quantity of our food and to the condition of our appetite. Let every one quit when hunger is satisfied, and not eat simply because the taste is gratified; and when the tomach is weak, with appetite impaired, or you have not yet get through the digestion of one meal, forbear till that important organ be ready to discharge its duty. Treated reasonably in this way, there are few things it will not digest and

FOREIGN TRADE-THE SOUTH.

In De Bow's Commercial Review, we observe a very spirited article on the "Direct Trade of the Southern States with Europe," the purpose of Orleans, notwithstanding the impulse it is conwhich is to arouse the people of these States to the great importance of building up Southern

"Let us," says the writer, "take Richmond Charleston, Savannah, Mobile, and New Orlean Their annual exportation of agricultural product is immense; it is conducted in Northern shipping is immense; it is conducted in Northern snipping, and the return cargoes received at Northern ports, to be re-shipped again with great expense to us, who sit patiently awaiting the result. The city of New York will import six-fold more than all of our Southern States taken together, and to a great part for the consumption of the Southern and Western States. All the profits of this commerce, legitimately ours are lost.

egitimately ours, are lost. In a note, statistics are given, such as we have requently adverted to, but it will do no harm to give a Southerner's presentation of them: Imports of the United States in 1846, \$118,253,416

Of which there was-Into Virginia South Carolina 2.801.361 Georgia 651.618 Louisiana 16,117,649 In 1845-The Southern States together

New York alone - - 70,909,085
"Is this natural or necessary?" asks the writer; and to prove that it is neither, he goes into details to show the great advantages of Southern man body are composed of fat, muscle, bone, and the blood contains these in a liquid state. Wheat, duce the cotton, the great staple of our trade with foreign nations. Their harbors are capacious and safe, their cities are healthy.

"Men tell us that the Southern States can never become the centre of great commercial operations! We heard this asserted boldly a thou sand times over, during our travels at the North. The climate is uncongenial, say they; produce corrupts in your summers; you have no energy in such hot regions; slavery retards you. Make your cotton, your sugar, your rice, and tobacco, as much as you please, but there is an end of it, and will ever be."

As to climate, Charleston, he says, is as healthy as any city in the world; statistics prove it.

The statistics of Charleston show a lower mor "The statistics of Charleston show a lower mortality among its acclimated population than any Northern city, and the physicians of Mobile and New Orleans will give the same testimony in favor of those cities. Mobile and New Orleans, too, possess the great advantage over the former city of being surrounded by healthy country. When these cities escape yellow fever, which attacks the unacclimated alone, they enjoy an exemption from all disease, which is almost incredible."

To the objection that produce corrupts in South ern climes, he replies-

"Complain of produce and costly goods corrupting or deteriorating in Southern climes! Venice, a southern city, conducted the trade of all the East, and was the entrepot of the world's commerce for the main period of her history." Though the objection is a foolish one, not much

an be said for the answer. Venice, so far from being a Southern city, is in latitude 45 deg. 25 min. north, just five degrees higher than New only to-day, but to-morrow and next day, for the York! Better examples for his purpose would proportions may differ. But could some process have been Canton, the great foreign port of Chiact weight of bone, fat, and muscle, demanded at once the great marts of the world-one in lati-

That the Southerners are deficient in energy, divers edibles to the test. And so it might hap- is also denied. Much has been said of the relax ing influence of climate in the South, but this i greatly magnified. No country in the world enjoys a more bracing climate than Kentucky; fev luxury could not be eaten with safety, but that | can boast a race of men so large or robust; but bran or beans contained the exact and the only Kentucky, though settled before her sister State proportions of bone, muscle, and fat, to meet his Ohio, is half a century behind her in population

enterprise, and wealth. The question then recurs, why is it that, though the South produces the great staple of commerc the North monopolizes the trade? "Slavery i at the bottom of the mischief" cries the North erner. And how does the Review writer meet this explanation? All the other alleged obstacles he disposes of with great readiness. Let us see how he treats this:

" Nor do our Northern brethren understand

upon that vital question of slavery. They have allowed us to be visited with sneers, jeers, abuse, misrepresentations of the most malignant stamp, in a matter with which no one but ourselves and ar Maker, by any law of man or of nations, can our Maker, by any law of man or of nations, can have a rightful concern. Our national councils have been perplexed, our progress stayed, and measures threatened, equivalent, as we, the people of thirteen independent States, regard, to annihilation, as an integral part of the Union. We are abused for calculating the value of a Union which threatens us with utter desolation and ruin. We are called fanatical, inconsiderate, disorderly, factious, when protesting and crying out against such unhallowed invasions upon the rights and even the existences of freemen. It is possible our such unhallowed invasions upon the rights and even the existences of freemen. It is possible our consitiveness is great; it is right that it is so. Are men to 'snuff the approaches of danger in the tainted breeze,' and not to avert it? God knows, if let alone, we can co-operate with our Northern brethren, can give them of our labor, and take of theirs. We can ply the shoulder with them, love them, live with them, but it must be as equals! Let us alone, as we let you alone, and as you let European nations alone, and the destinies of our country will be great indeed. An opposite course is too sad to contemplate. It is sufficient that we, who are the best judges, are satisfied with our institutions as they are, and will change or alter them just as soon as we regard it desirable. On our head be all the responsibility!" hem, live with th m, but it must be as equals! Let

We neither sneer, jeer, abuse, nor misrepresen You complain of your want of manufacturing and commercial enterprise; that the merchant and mechanic are not respected among you as they deserve; that the South is falling behind the North in wealth, population, and, consequently, power. You philosophize on the subject. You say the fault is not in the want of harbors. We agree with you. You demonstrate the healthiness of your climate. We admit it. You extol your natural advantages. We sympathize in your admiration. You dwell upon the native energies of the Southern people. We never question them With a sky, soil, coast, with water-power and mineral resources adapted to commerce and manufac-tures, and an intelligent, energetic people, you cannot cease wondering that the single port of New York enjoys a commerce six-fold that of the entire South, and a single Northern State contains manufactories worth those of all the Southern States put together. We tell von there is no cause for wonder. You have overlooked one fact which entirely explains the seeming mystery, and that fact is BLAVERY.

That system, in dooming the laboring masses t bratish ignorance and perpetual degradation, in withdrawing from them the motives to honorable effort, and exempting them from the responsibilities of self-support, disqualifies them for diversi fied industry, without which there can be no accu

tion of capital, no commerce, no manufactures.

In degrading labor, it diminishes the nur ners, encourages idleness and waste, prevents multiplication of small farmers and small tradesmen, and, consequently, the growth of towns, and in all these ways lessens the enterprise, the inquisitiveness, the practical tact, the mental activity, the faculty of invention, without which there can be neither commerce nor manufactures It enlarges the plantation, and dwarfs the city monopolies; it resolves the population into

emigration alone affording them relief. So conslavery on one hand and manufactures and commerce on the other, unless in peculiar cases, where geographical position overrules the ordinary laws of the social state, the growth of the one is always coincident with the decline of the other. New Orleans is one of the exceptions. It stands at the mouth of the Mississippi, the great national highway for the products and the exchanges of a large portion of the free West. Hence, though in a slave State, with slavery increasing all around it, its position compels it to be a great entrepot. So with St. Louis, which enjoys the transhipment trade of the Upper Mississippi, simply because Nature has made no site for a port or city on the opposite side of the river. But, even here, the operation of the law adverted to is manifest. Slavery is dying out in St. Louis, and can make little headway in New

stantly receiving from the prevalence of the system in the States of which they are the capitals. This is what we mean, when we say that slavery is the cause of the want of commerce in the South. Is this sneering, jeering, abusing, misrepresenting? Read again the paragraph quoted from the Review. It contains no answer to this reasoning. It does not even deny the assumption involved in it. It is a simple outburst of impatience, with an imputation of conduct and feelings to Anti-Slavery men, of which they are not

Why do not Southern men meet the question

with the courage they display in physical conflict? They see the backwardness of the Southern States-the retrograde march of some of themand they must know that the cause is to be found in a system of labor which is founded in violence. is repugnant to man's nature, incompatible with modern civilization; that the South must recede more and more, unless it change its institutions so as to adapt them to Progress, and harmonize them with the spirit of the age. Why not say so frankly, fearlessly? Mere contrasts of Northern enterprise with Southern lack; didactic essays on the advantages of diversified forms of labor; Conventions of Southern planters or Southern politicians, to discuss and resolve and re-resolve, will accomplish nothing till the South make labor and land free, and free labor will soon lead to the breaking up of land monopolies. The last fif teen years have witnessed some three or four spasmodical attempts in the South to force prosperity, to counteract the necessary consequences of the system which its politicians idolize. But they have passed away, leaving only an increased sense of debility. Our Southern friends have done all that men could do, in their struggles against the working of irrevocable laws; but there is but one path of permanent prosperity

and that lies parallel with eternal justice. and that hes parallel with eternal justice.

"Some years ago," says De Bow's Review, "the South evinced, for a short time, the deepest interest in foreign commerce; several great conventions were held, with the largest delegations. We had the ablest speeches ever delivered in the country; the most profound and elaborate reports; the best resolutions in the world. But what has become of all this? Have we emised the foreign trade. of all this? Have we gained the foreign trade Do we appear any nearer the desired consumma-tion? Are we working out the great end? Alas! little of the kind; we have almost forgotten the conventions. But they shall not be forgotten. We will invoke, as it were, their dread ghosts, to when invoke, as it were, their dread gaoss, to stare even our hardinood out of countenance. We cannot say, 'shake not those gory locks at us!' The guilt is ours, and, in acknowledging it, let us be penitent, and sin no more."

And, let us add-EMANCIPATE LABOR. REPORT ON THE RELIGIOUS INSTRUCTION OF THE COLORED PEOPLE.

This is the title of a report published in the Alabama Baptist, on the religious instruction of the slave population in that State. We cannot but rejoice that the subject is attracting more and | pendence of Mexico. more attention, but they "still feel that this is, as to religion, the most neglected class of our population. They urge attention to their relimessage, and his conclusion was, that the polgious condition, because, 1st, "They are here in our midst, speaking our language."

"2. They are entirely dependent upon us. If we are silent, and speak not to them the words of life, they are lost. The whole horizon to them is dark, save the single spot where Southern Christians stand; and if no light comes thence, they will be in darkness indeed. To them the written word of God is a sealed book; other religious books and tracts are placed out of their reach by laws rendered necessary by the blind fanaticism of others; no missionary from another land comes to them, nor if he came could we permit him to go among them. We alone are our colored brethren's keepers, and if their souls die, again us will their blood call to God out of the groun

"3. They are ours, they belong to us. The re-lation existing by "the domestic institution," is analogous to that of parents and children, and makes them a part of our families. Like Abraham, then, let us order our households after us in the Lord's way. They are ours, linked insepa rably to us; our happiness, our character, our standing, are intimately connected with their be haviour, their improvement, their temporal and eternal well being. And since it is they who, in part, provide for us the means of sending the Gospel to others, is it not 'just and equal' that a sufficient portion of that which has been obtained by their labor should be expended to preach to nem the glad tidings of salvation?

"4. Something is practicable. Here is the point where many doubt. Probably the great reason why so little is done, is that it is thought reason why so little is done, is that it is thought that little can be done. They are, however, in fact, a most impressible people, and listen to the word with most eager attention, when preached to them warmly and affectionately. This is the testimony of all who have tried it." It is difficult for us to conceive how Christian

can accommodate themselves so completely to a social system so utterly repugnant to Christianity. In the name of Heaven, how can they bring themselves to sustain a system, which cannot be perpetuated, without making the "written word of God a sealed book," to some hundreds of thousands of those whom they style their brothren? They are Protestants, Baptists, who write thus. They assert the right of Private Judgment—the rights of conscience. They denounce the Catholic church as denying to its laity the right to read and interpret the Bible for themselves. This denial they refer to, as a certain mark of the "Man of Sin"-of the " Mother of Abominations." Do they believe what they say? What then are they doing? Supporting with all their might a system which makes "the written word of God a sealed book," to hundreds of thousands of human beings, and "places out of their reach" other religious books and tracts.

Divines may teach, and Demagogues as they please, that "institution" must be a terrible one which stands alone in the enforced ignorance of its subjects, and is perpetuated by making the Bible a sealed book to them. What a pertinent commentary are the foregoing extracts from the Alabama Baptist report

upon the following editorial article from the Christian Observer! "IS THE BIBLE WITHHELD "IS THE BIBLE WITHHELD?

"On our last page, we insert a communication from 'A Western Man,' in which he reports a resolution recently adopted by the Synod of Indiana, that charges by implication some Legislature, or some men, with denying the right of reading the Bible to the slaves. Is it right to present a charge of this kind, in a resolution, endorsed by a Synod?

"During Courteen years in Virginia, the editor."

During fourteen years in Virginia, the editor "During fourteen years in Virginia, the editor of the Christian Observer knew of cases in which the slaves of Christian masters, and of gentlemen not members of the church, were taught to read the Bible. And he never knew or heard of any Protestant denying them this right, or of any law in any of the Southern States that was intended to deprive the slave of the Bible. For several years he was connected with the Bible Society of Virginia, as a member of its Board of Managers, from whose depository Bibles were taken for distribution among slaves. We copy a statement on this subject, from a Richmond paper:

From the Watchman and Observer. THE BIBLE FOR SLAVES,-In our Northern exchanges, there is an occasional article upon this subject, implying that there are obstacles to the circulation of the Bible among the slaves of the South; but we very much doubt whether, among those who admit the principle that 'the Bible is the rule of faith,' a single slave owner can be found, who has the slightest objection to its being given to as many of his slaves as can read it. For nearly twenty years we were in connection with the Charleston Bible Society, as one of the Man-

agers and Secretaries, and we can testify that every application for a Bible was as freely grant-ed to a slave that could read, as to a white per-

We love fair dealing. Who has said that any aw was ever passed in Virginia, "intended to deprive the slave of the Bible ?" Who has made a question as to whether the Bible would be given to a slave in Charleston that could read? Why evade the real point? By the laws of a great majority of the slaveholding States, slaves are prohibited from learning to read and write, and it is a penal offence to teach them. This is notorious Every candid, intelligent slaveholder will admit this. Now, what is the use of givlug the Bible to those who cannot read? You can plunge a man into total darkness by putting out his eyes, more easily than by putting out the sun.

Let us be discriminating. Here, in the District of Columbia, colored people may have their schools, and the Bible may be circulated among them as among other people. We do not believe the few slaves here generally would be forbidden to receive the Bible.

We suppose it is the same in Baltimore, and in nany parts of Maryland.

In Kentucky, there are no laws we believe against teaching slaves to read. In Virginia, the contrary is true, but the laws are not rigidly enforced, and the Bible might be sirculated to a considerable extent among the

But, below Tennessee and North Carolina, we have no reason to believe that these barbarous laws are not rigidly enforced. Undoubtedly the Bible is a sealed book to the great body of the slave population, for the simple reason that they are kept in a state of ignorance which disqualihes them from reading its pages, or understand-

ng much of it were it read to them. Now, the plea uniformly put forth in justification of this compelled ignorance, is the security of the system of slavery. This fact, alone, in the judgment of every enlightened, unprejudiced mind must stamp the system as all wrong, and every argument in support of it, as an absurdity.

DEBATE IN THE SENATE

ON THE PROPOSITION OF GENERAL CASS, TO TAKE UP THE BILL TO RAISE AN ADDITIONAL

This debate took place last Thursday, and is mportant, as affording data for judging of the opinion of leading Senators in regard to the policy of furnishing supplies for the war. Mr. CALHOUN said the Senate was thin: the bill was important; many Senators had not yet

made up their minds; what supplies should be

granted would depend on what they might decide

was the true policy, in the next few days. He would therefore oppose the motion. Mr. Cass urged the measure because the good of the country required it. He did not see how the gentleman's proposition could affect it. It was the President's intention to prosecute the war, with a view to an honorable peace, not the extinction of the nationality of Mexico. To attempt, however, to prevent the American People from taking possession of Mexico, if they demanded it. would be as futile as to undertake to stop the rnshing of the cataract of Niagara. He himself would think the annihilation of the nationality of

bill till Monday. Mr. Calhoun said his views extended far beyond that. He was happy to hear the disclaimer of the gentleman in regard to the conquest of Mexico, but men sometimes became involved in circumstances driving them to results

Mexico, most unfortunate, but the longer the war

was protracted, the greater the danger of that

catastrophe. He would be willing to postpone the

they had not contemplated. Mr. Cass read the disclaimer from the President's message, of any desire to destroy the inde-

Mr. Calhoun said he had examined with creat icy recommended would lead to precisely the result which the President said he had not contem-

Mr. CLAYTON. There is not, so far as I know. any disposition on this side of the chamber to de-lay voting supplies for the army; but I hope that the honorable Senator from Michigan will not press a vote upon this bill, or any measure of this description, until we have had an opportunity of reading the Report of the Secretary of War, and

he documents accompanying that report.

Mr. Cass was willing that the bill should be postponed till Monday, but not beyond that day. Mr. BERRIEN. I desire to stand entirely uncommitted upon the subject of yielding the sup-plies demanded by the Executive, until I have an plies demanded by the Executive, until I have an opportunity to decide as to the propriety of granting them. But the ground on which I place my opposition to the present consideration of this bill, is, that it proposes a great increase of force before we, the war-making power, have decided what are the objects to be accomplished; and I see great force in the suggestions of the honorable Senator from South Carolina, which seem to have scaped the observation of the Secretary of War.
Mr. Cass. I will merely remark, that proper measures for raising and organizing this force, must necessarily, by many months, precede its arrival in Mexico. It will take a long time for the troops to be organized, and still longer to transport them to their several places of destina transport them to their several places of desina-tion. It is a measure whose inception it is now necessary to commence, with a view to have the troops in Mexico in proper season; and let me observe to the Senator from Georgia, and the tion. It is a measure who Senator from South Carolina, that for my soul

annot perceive the difficulty which strikes them Mr. Allen was in favor of immediate action, and against postponement, even till Monday There were two modes of opposing the Administration-by abstract propositions, and practical votes. He was in favor of settling the question in a practical way; of ascertaining whether the Senate was or was not in favor of voting supplies, of prosecuting the war vigorously.

However much the metaphysical ingenuity of some minds may seek to divide this question, there remains but the one—the simple question, either to prosecute this war until it is ended by a atisfactory peace, or to abandon the war, and withdraw our troops to the left bank of the Rio Grande. If it be the decision of the Senate, that the latter policy be carried into effect, the sooner the better; if it be the decision of the Senate that the former plan be adopted, it ought to be executed immediately. But he situation, sir, wavering, uncertainty as to what will be the final action of Congress, is nothing but procrastinating a

peace.

Mr. Calhoun. It appears, now, sir, that the object in calling up this bill at present is not to pass the bill, but to get a parliamentary advantage—to compel the Senate to discuss this bill before an opportunity is afforded for discussing the resolutions which I have offered. It is a mere parliamentary move. The Senator shakes his head. Well, sir, if we follow the advice of the server object we shall consume just as much head. Weal, sir, it we follow the actions as much senator from Ohio, we shall consume just as much time in discussing this bill as if we were first to discuss the resolutions. The Senator from Ohio talks of the necessity of proceeding to act upon this bill now, and tells as in the next breath that this bill now, and tells as in the next breath that we are to have the whole discussion upon the subject of the war upon this bill.

Mr. Allen. The honorable Senator misrepresents what I said. What I said was, that we ought to take up this bill, and go on with its consideration at once.

Mr. Calhoun. Exactly. We are to go on with the Almesia.

the discussion upon this bill instantly, we are told, both by the Senator from Ohio and the Sena afor from Michigan, and not let the discussion upon the resolutions have precedence. The Sen-ator from Ohio says, that it is a parliamentary upon the resolutions have precedence. The Senator from Ohio says, that it is a parliamentary advantage to have the discussion upon this bill previous to discussing the resolutions. Well, I acknowledge that it is so. I acknowledge that we should be tied up, in a great measure, in the discussion upon the bill, and prevented from going so freely into all these questions regarding the war, as we would in discussing the resolutions.

Mr. Hale. I regret the necessity of saying a word in relation to this matter at this time, but it has been my misfortune not to have read the message of the President, as have those Senators who have already addressed you. I suppose, sir, that this message has been drafted with some care, and with some reference to the rules of grammatical construction. If I remember aright a rule that is laid down by Lindley Murray, it is, that the perfect tense not only represents an action as perfect tense not only represents an action as passed and finished, but contains a direct allusion to the present time. What is the language of the President? "It has never been contemplated by President? "It has never been contemplated me as an object of the war to make a perman conquest of the Republic of Mexico, or to an hilate her separate existence as an independ-nation." It seems to me that there is here a

pregnant allusion to the present time. It appears that the Administration has begun to entertain a different notion, and I am confirmed in this belief by looking at another passage in the message, there the President save.

by looking at another passage in the message, where the President says:

"If, after affording this encouragement and protection, and after all the persevering and sincere efforts we have made, from the moment Mexico commenced the war, and prior to that time, to adjust our differences with her, we shall ultimately fail, then we shall have exhausted all honoration means in pursuit of peace, and must continue ly fail, then we shall have exhausted all honora-ble means in pursuit of peace, and must continue to occupy her country with our troops, taking the fall measure of indemnity into our own hands, and must enforce the terms which our honor de-

fill his hands or satisfy his honor, but he tells us that we have possession of New Mexico and Cal-ifornia now, but he fails to inform us how much ther and more vigorous prosecution of the war which he recommends. And I am the more desirous of saying a word at this time by reason of the intimation which has been thrown out, that there are some who are opposed to the war, and prefer manifesting that opposition on an abstract resolution; and who yet will not take the responsibilities of opposition the measures which the Presentations of opposition the measures which the Presentations of oppositions the measures which the Presentations of oppositions of the presentation of oppositions oppositions of oppositions oppositions of oppositions opposi resolution; and who yet will not take the responsibility of opposing the measures which the Pressident recommends. Sir, I do not know but that my ideas may be peculiar upon this subject, but I believe that the war was commenced in falsehood, and prosecuted in injustice, and that the institutions of the United States are in more danger at this moment of annihilation, than those of Mexister and the property with the second state of the responsibility. this moment of and the sympathy with those gentlement who tell us that this measure has no connection with the origin of the war; I think it has everything to do with it, and I would like to see gen tlemen who think otherwise solve this problem and inform us how long it will take, in the man-

ar. I would that they would tell us how long mus evere in a wrong cause before we shall

would that they would talk they were persevere in a wrong cause before we shall come out right?

I would be glad if they would tell us another thing. I would like to hear them demonstrate to us how much better it is to conquer a peace than to keep a peace. Conquer a peace! that seems to be a sort of magical phrase; and the course recommended to effect it reminds me of the manner of treating a patient pursued by an old Spanish physician, who fancied that by letting blood and administering warm water he could cure all diseases. In proceeding with this practice, it was found that his patients all died; the Doctor said that the reason was because he did not take enough blood from them. He took more from his next patients, reason was because he did not take enough blood from them. He took more from his next patients, and they continued to die; and upon a consulta-tion as to whether some other mode of treatment might not be attended with better results, he said he would listen to the recommendation for a change of treatment, if he had not written a book upon the subject. Well, sir, the President has upon the subject. Well, Sir, the President has written a book, and requires of us that we should follow it. Now, recognising no such obligation as that, I desire that this measure be discussed; I desire that this subject should be discussed fully, freely, and fairly, as embraced in the resolution ly, and fairly, as embraced in the resolutions pro-posed by the Senator from South Carolina and the Senator from New York, and that those of the Senator from New York, and that those of the Senator from South Carolina should take precedence of those offered by the Senator from New York, for the resolutions of the Senator from South Carolina relate to the question how much territory we shall rob Mexico of; and the Senator from New York, talks are for from New York, tells us how to take care of the spoils after we have got them. I therefore think that the resolutions of the Senator from South Carolina should take precedence of those of the Senator from New York, and that they should both take precedence of this bill. I desire that the question should be presented in such a manner that the whole country may understand it; and, sir, it is all involved in this ten regiment bill. It seems to me, the question presented by this bill will determine the whole matter. If we are to go on and follow the course pointed out by the President, and give him ten regiments of reg-ulars and twenty of volunteers in addition, then, of course this bill is to be passed. But if, as I believe, the war was commenced in

error, here is the place to stop; and, with my consent, the first dollar shall not go from the National Treasury, until the President informs National Treasury, until the President informs us how much he supposes will be required to bring the army home by the shortest and cheapest route. For this purpose he shall have money; but not with my vote for continuing the war with an indefinite purpose. I think it is time that the country should understand what we are aiming at, and I think that the belief of a great majority of the received eleved, is that the war was not only and I think that the belief of a great majority of
the people already is, that the war was not only
a crime, but a blunder; and it is this which calls
attention to it more receively than III had remained simply a crime—an unfortunate one, certainly,
when viewed in the best light. And I am willing,
that if the expression of this view should bring
ever so much opprobrium, that it should come
now. It seems to me that those who view the poliev of the Administration as a miserable one now. It seems to me that those who view the policy of the Administration as a miserable one should boldly and distinctly say so, and vote accordingly. Let us not be guilty of the miserable inconsistency of saying that this war is an error, and of still voting supplies to enable the President to carry it on. Let Congress, on whom the responsibility rests, and to whom the country will look in this matter, take the war into their own hands, and declare distinctly and unequivocally to the country what they intend, and what they desire.

I do not know that there is a single member on this floor who sympathizes with me in the view which I take; but I believe that this war marks the age as barbarous, and that we are vastly more in danger of bringing ruin and destruction upon our own institutions, than those of the country with which we are at war. I want the question presented boldly—not by way of problem or mere abstraction. For one, my mind is made up; not the first dollar shall the President take, by my vote, for either regular or volunteer force, until he comes forward and informs the country how much he does want in order to secure an honorable peace, and the mode in which he proposes to effect so desirable a result. The other day the honorable Senator from Michigan told us that every near ware ware and other takes. that every man, woman, and child, in the country, knew what we wanted. I confess I heard this assertion with some astonishment; for if it be true, I could not class myself with either man, woman, or child—for I confess I did not know. Nor was I in the least enlightened when the honorable Senator added that it was indemnity and satisfac-

tion.
Mr. Cass. I beg the honorable Senator's pardon; that was not my expression; indemnity and security were the words I used.

Mr. Hale. Well, I have not got any light

Mr. Cass. That is not my fault. Mr. Cass. That is not my fault.
Mr. Hale. No, sir, it is owing to my opacity, probably; but, waiving for the present the discussion, whether it is owing to the inability of the honorable Senator to impart, or of myself to receive light, and proceed.
Indemnity and security. Indemnity for what?
Security for what? Here endeth the first lesson.

Indemnity and security. Indemnity for what? Security for what? Here endeth the first lesson. We do not know, we are as much in the dark as ever. I do not intend at this time to do more than to make these general remarks. On some future occasion I propose, not with the hope of influencing the action of the Senate, but to place myself aright before those who have sent me here, to express my views more fully in regard to the war. And permit me to say here, that I think the origin of the war lies a little deeper than any of the causes which have been assigned by those who have spoken upon the subject. I believe the origin of the war lies in the avowed object of the American Government to perpetuate the institution of American slavery. That I believe to be the true design and purpose of this war; and if it the true design and purpose of this war; and if it had not been for that cause we never should have had it. Believing this to be the fact, and that any exposition of the origin and cause of this war, which stops short of that, stops short of the truth, I shall endeavor on some subsequent occasion, with the indulgence of the Senate, to satisfy the country, by reference to the official documents, that such is the origin and purpose of the war, and to indicate my own views of the true policy to be pursued in reference thereto.

The continued in reference thereto.

The question was then taken on the motion of Mr. Cass to take up the bill, by yeas and nays, as

LEAS—Messrs. Allen, Ashley, Atchison, Atherton, Bagby, Bradbury, Breese, Cass, Davis of Miss, Dickinson, Dix, Douglass, Felch, Foste, Rusk, Sevier, Sturgeon, Turney, Westcott—19.

MAYS—Messrs. Badger, Baldwin, Bell, Berrien, Butler, Calhoun, Clarke, Clayton, Corwin, Crittenden, Greene, Hale, Johnson, of Md., Johnson, of La, Mangum, Phelps, Underwood, Upham, Yulee—19. The Senate being equally divided, the Vice

President gave the casting vote in the affirmative.

The bill having been read a second time,

Mr. Mangum said: I hope that this bill will be allowed to be passed over for the present. I very much desire that it should not now be taken up, and, shove all, that the final action upon it should not be had until all the great questions touching the policy of the Government in regard to the Mexican war have been discussed, and the sense of this body in relation to them clearly ascertained. For if we are called upon to act now, we must act affirmatively, for I suppose there is no one who will not be disposed to grant what may be deemed necessary. It will then amount to an affirmative of the necessity for still further prosecuting this war, the end of which no man can foresee. For myself sir, in case I am driven to a vote upon a measure of this kind, before I have an opportunity of examining into these subjects, Mr. Mangum said: I hope that this bill will be

I shall endeavor so to vote as to throw the responsibility upon the Executive, and to assume only that degree of responsibility which will attach to a vote under such circumstances.

There was no further discussion. The Senate vent into Executive session, and then adjourned

> THIRTIETH CONGRESS. FIRST SESSION.

DECEMBER 29. SENATE.—Several communications were received from the Departments, in answer to resolutions of the Senate. Petitions and memorials were presented, also

retations and memorials were presented, also the proceedings of a public meeting in New York, in relation to expediting the mails.

Gen. Cass, from the Committee on Military Affairs, reported a bill authorizing the President to accept, at his discretion, the services of 20,000 volunteers, to serve three years from the time or prival at their rendervous unless sooner discretions. volunteers, to serve three years from the time of arrival at their rendezvous, unless sooner dis-charged, or unless peace be made, when they shall be discharged six months thereafter; the Presi-dent being authorized to receive additional com-

action being authorized to receive auditional com-panies, when regiments are reduced.

The same committee reported a bill to provide clothing for volunteers.

On leave, Mr. Ashley introduced a bill to pro-

On leave, Mr. Ashley introduced a bill to provide a permanent pre-emption system in favor of actual settlers on lands of the United States.

The bill to provide for the purchase of the Madison papers, by an appropriation of \$25,000, was called up by Mr. Crittenden.

Mr. Hale understood that the Senator from Connecticut wished to debate the bill, but he was now absent on necessary business. He would move its postponement till Monday.

Mr. Crittenden resisted the motion, and hoped the Senate would at once dispose of the bill.

Mr. Hale persisted in his motion. He was opposed to all such bills, as their tendency was to introduce a kind of civil pension list.

posed to all such bills, as their tendency was to introduce a kind of civil pension list. A brief debate arose, in which Messrs. Critten-den, Berrien, and Badger, warmly urged the pas-sage of the bill; and the motion was finally re-jected.

The bill was ordered to be engrossed, and read a third time; but Mr. Butler, of South Carolina, insisting upon delay, further action was postponed till to-morrow.

A message was received from the House, announcing the death of E. Bradley, Representative from Michigan; and the Senate, after passing the

HOUSE.—Nothing was done in the House, is onsequence of the death of Mr. Bradley.

DECEMBER 30.

Senate.—Mr. Webster presented the petition of the American Peace Society, asking that the war may be brought to a close.

The Vice President appointed Mr. Davis, of Mississippi, to fill the vacancy in the Smithsonian Institution, occasioned by the resignation of Gen. Cass.

A resolution introduced by Mr. Mangum, to A resolution introduced by Mr. Mangum, to provide two seats for the Senate reporters, on the floor of the Senate, was laid over under the rule. Messrs. Bradbury, Cameron, and Greene, were appointed, on the part of the Senate, members of the Joint Committee on Printing, according to the provisions of the joint resolution relating to the printing of the two Houses of Congress.

Mr. R. Johnson's resolution calling upon the President for statistics concerning the various forces engaged in the service of the United States since May, 1846, was adopted.

since May, 1846, was adopted.

Gen. Cass moved to take up the bill to raise, fo limited time, an additional number of troops, &c A debate of considerable interest arose, in which Messrs. Calhoun, Cass, Clayton, Berrien Hale, Allen, and Mangum, participated.

The question was then taken by yeas and nays

and the vote stood—yeas 19, nays 19—a tie. The Vice President gave the casting vote in the affirmative, and the bill was taken up in Committee of the Whole. Before any progress was made, the Senate con

cluded to go into Executive session, and then ad journed over till Monday. House.-The States were called for petition

Mr. Tuck presented several Anti-Slavery petitions; the first of which was referred to the Committee on the Judiciary. One prayed Congress to appropriate the proceeds of the public lands to the extinction of slavery.

Mr. Tuck moved its reference to the same com

Mr. Gayle moved that it lie upon the table.
Mr. Brodhead asked Mr. Gayle to withdraw his
motion; but, the request being refused, the question was taken by yeas and nays, and the petition
was laid upon the table—yeas 86, nays 70.
Mr. Gayle moved to reconsider the motion by

Mr. Gayle moved to reconsider the motion by which the first petition presented by Mr. Tuck had been referred to the Committee on the Judiciary; but the motion was informally laid over.

Mr. Tuck then presented another petition from inhabitants of Pennsylvania, praying Congress to adopt such measures as will abolish slavery throughout the United States; and he moved its reference to the Judiciary Committee; it was laid upon the table.

A resolution introduced by Mr. Stephens was agreed to instructing the Committee on Printing

A resolution introduced by Mr. Stephens was agreed to, instructing the Committee on Printing to inquire when copies of the President's message would be printed and laid upon the desks of members, and whether any action of the House could facilitate the public printing.

Mr. Goggin, from the Committee on the Post Office and Post Roads, reported a joint resolution concerning the transportation of the mail from Washington south.

This gave rise to a long debate.

The resolutions authorized the Postmaster Gen-

This gave rise to a long debate.

The resolutions authorized the Postmaster General to put back the mail upon the old route, &c.

Mr. Goggin took occasion to say that he should not support the resolution. He preferred the well-founded resolution of his colleague, (Mr. Botts.)

He was opposed to the present arrangements of the Postmaster General, and in favor of yielding (as we inferred) to the demands of the Railroad Company. Company.

Mr. Johnson, of Arkansas, moved to lay the

whole subject upon the table.

Pending this motion, the House, on motion
Mr. Schenck, adjourned till Monday.

JANUARY 3. SENATE.—After the presentation of various petitions, and introduction of several reports,
Mr. Benton submitted resolutions to authorize

Mr. Benton submitted resolutions to authorize the printing, for the use of the Senate, and for the use of Dr. Wiglizenus, copies of the tour of that gentleman through the northern parts of Mexico, as physician to Col. Doniphan's column. They were ordered to be printed.

The resolution of Mr. Mangum, to provide seats on the floor of the Senate for its Reporter, was referred to a committee of three.

Mr. Westcott was in favor of the resolution, with an amendment, that the Senate should have power to turn out the fellows, if they did not behave themselves, without being therefor charged with violating the liberty of the press.

The bill to provide clothing for the volunteers in the service of the United States was passed.

The Ten Regiment Bill was taken up, and Mr. Cass addressed the Senate at length in favor of it, after which, it was postponed till Wednesday, at one o'clock, and made the special order for that time.

time.

A short time was spent in Executive session, and the Senate adjourned.

and the Senate adjourned.

House.—The resolution in regard to the transportation of the Southern mail was made the special order of the day for to-morrow, in Committee of the Whole on the state of the Union.

The Committee on Revolutionary Pensions was instructed to inquire into the expediency of authorizing the Secretary of War to employ an additional number of clerks in the Pension Office.

The Committee on Elections reported a resolution in relation to the contested election in the 6th Congressional district of New York, authorizing the parties to take testimony, &c., according to the laws of that State. It was agreed to.

On motion of Mr. Ashmun, it was Resolved, That the Committee on the Post Office be instructed to inquire into the expediency of repealing all laws which make criminal the transportation of letters and newspapers by private means.

portation of letters and newspapers by private means.

Mr. Hudson moved a resolution, instructing the Committee on Military Affairs to inquire into the expediency of withdrawing our troops to the east bank of the Rio Grande, and of proposing ta the Mexican Government a treaty of peace, on the following terms: that all demand of indemnity for the expenses of the war be relinquished; that the boundary between the two countries shall be established at or near the desert between the Nucces and Rio Grande; that Mexico pay all the just claims of our citizens at the beginning of the war; and that a convention be appointed to provide for the ascertainment and liquidation of these claims. On this resolution he demanded the previous question.

vote of 91 to 85.

On the question to lay the resolution on the table, the vote stood—yeas 54, nays 125.

Mr. Schenck moved a reconsideration of the vote by which the main question had been order-

The motion to reconsider was lost—yeas 90. nays 92.

The question recurred on the resolution of Mr. The vote was taken by yeas and nays, as fol-

lows:
YEAS—Messrs. Abbott, John Quincy Adams,
Ashmun, Belcher, Blanchard, Botts, Boyden, Brady, Buckner, Collamer, Conger, Cranston, Crowell, Dickey, Dixon, Nathan Evans, Fisher, Giddings, Grinnell, Hale, Nathan K. Hall, Henry,
Hubbard, Hudson, Kellogg, Daniel P. King, McIlvaine, Marsh, Marvin, Julius Rockwell, Root,
Rumsey, Schenck, Caleb B. Smith, Truman Smith,
Strohm, Richard W. Thompson, Tuck, Vinton,
Warren, Wilson—41.

Rumsey, Schenck, Caleb B. Smith, Truman Smith, Strohm, Richard W. Thompson, Tuck, Vinton, Warren, Wilson—41.

Nays—Messrs. Green Adams, Barringer, Barrow, Bayly, Beale, Bedinger, Bingham, Birdsall, Black, Bowden, Brodhead, William G. Brown, Charles Brown, Burt, Butler, Cabell, Cathcart, Chase, Beverly L. Clark, Clingman, Howell Cobb, Williamson R. W. Cobb, Cocke, Collins, Crozier, Cummins, Daniel Dickinson, Donnell, Duer, Garnett Duncan, Dunn, Edwards, Embree, Alexander Evans, Faran, Farrelly, Featherston, Ficklin, Fries, French, Fulton, Gentry, Goggin, Green, Willard P. Hall, Hammons, James G. Hampton, Moses Hampton, Harmanson, Harris, Haskell, Henley, Hill, Hilliard, Isaac E. Holmes, George S. Houston, John W. Houston, Inge, Charles J. Ingersoll, Joseph R. Ingersoll, Ivrin, Jamieson, Jenkins, Andrew Johnson, James H. Johnson, Robert W. Johnson, George W. Jones, John W. Jones, Kaufman, Kennon, Thomas Butler King, Lahm, La Sere, Lawrence, Leffler, Ligon, Lincoln, Lumpkin, McClelland, McClernand, McDowell, McLane, Mann, Meade, Miller, Morris, Morse, Mullin, Murphy, Nes, Peaslee, Peyton, Phelps, Pilsbury, Preston, Putnam, Rhett, Reynolds, Richardson, Richey, Robinson, Rockhill, John A. Rockwell, St. John, Sawyer, Shepperd, Sherrill, Simpson, Sims, Smart, Robert Smith, Stanton, Starkweather, Stephens, Andrew Stewart, Charles E. Stuart, Strong, Silvester, Thibodenux, Taylor, Thomas, Tompkins, James Thomp.

Stanton, Starkweather, Stephens, Andrew Stewart, Charles E. Stuart, Strong, Silvester, Thibodeaux, Taylor, Thomas, Tompkins, James Thompson, Jacob Thompson, John B. Thompson, William Thompson, Thurston, Toombs, Turner, Van Dyke, Venable, Wick, Williams, Woodward—137.

Mr. C. J. Ingersoll introduced a resolution, asking information from the President, whether any official notice had been taken by the Government or its Minister in England, by correspondence or otherwise, of the threatening and offensive terms used by the British Minister for Foreign Affairs, in his place in the House of Commons, concerning what he styled the want of pubeign Affairs, in his place in the House of Commons, concerning what he styled the want of public faith in the United States, punishable by Great Britain. It was laid over under the rule.

Mr. Dickey introduced a resolution (prefaced by a very long preamble) for the appointment of a joint committee of five members from the House, and five from the Senate, to confer with the President was the best ways, of presents at the second secon

ident upon the best means of terminating the war with Mexico. It was laid over under the rule. Mr. Hampton, of Pennsylvania, moved a resolution in favor of the plan of terminating our difficulties with Mexico, by giving its States and Territories the privilege of free, voluntary annex-ation to the United States. It was laid over un-

resolutions of thanks to General Taylor, for his military services. They were read the first time by their title, and, no objection being made, econd time.

Mr. Jameison moved their commitment to the Committee on Military Affairs. This motion was withdrawn by its mover, and renewed by Mr.

Mr. Evans intimated a desire to offer, as an amendment, a resolution, approving specially the capitulation of Monterey.

Mr. Houston, to get rid of difficulty, moved the

previous question on his resolution, but it was The Speaker then announced that the question was on referring to the Committee on Military Mr. Henley moved to amend, by adding an in

struction to the committee, to add the words, "engaged as they were in defending the rights and honor of the nation." Mr. Ashmun moved to amend the amendment

to S1; and the amendment was carried by a vote of S5 to S1; and the amendment, as amended, was then read, amidst great merriment—"engaged as they were in defending the rights and honor of the nation, unnecessarily and unconstitutionally begun by the President of the United States." Mr. Cobb said that the issue thus presented was so remarkable, that he must discuss it. The subject, therefore, went over.

After some other unimportant business, the

SENATE .- After the ordinary routine of busi ess was disposed of,

Mr. Calhoun rose to address the Senate upo his resolutions. He avowed that he occupied precisely the same position he did last winter.
The views he then took, he now held. He had opposed the war, not only because it was unnecessary, might easily have been avoided, and the allegations made in its favor were not founded in truth; but from high considerations of reason and policy. But after its declaration, he felt bound to acquiesce, and use all his influence to limit the evil growing out of it.

With this view he proposed the policy of a de-

fensive line. Party considerations had nothing to do with him. When he might have occasion to dissent from the policy of the President, he should do it with becoming decorum. When he urged the defensive line policy, we had in our possession all the territory of Mexico necessary for purposes of indemnity—territory unoccupied. That policy was the only certain mode of terminating the war successfully. It must have saved both men and money. Any other course would expose us to incalculable evils. The President took a different view. Congress sustained him. The war has been waged vigorously-our arms everywhere triumphant—the Mexican armies annihilated-the city of Mexico itself in our possession. But what have we gained? Have we conquered peace? Has a treaty been obtained? ndemnity secured? No, no. Every object is

further off than ever.

The reason is clear. The plan of the campaign was erroneous-the object mistaken-in demnity sought in a wrong way. It was in our power to take it-we aimed at it by treaty, and failed. Our sole gain was military glory, achieved at an expense of forty millions of dollars, and

thousands of lives.

He went into a calculation to show that a de

no fears for our arms—the more successfully it was prosecuted, the more certainly would the objects avowed by the Government, be defeated, and the objects disavowed, be forced upon us.

On this point, he dwelt with much force, showing that the inevitable tendency of the policy recommended in the Message, was, to the extinction of the nationality of Mexico.

He spoke at large upon the policy of subjugating Mexico.

The consequences of the policy of conquest were clearly and forcibly traced. He showed how the States would be merged in the Union, and the Legislative in the Executive power.

He then appealed to the Democratic Senator. This war was causing a total reverse of Demo cratic policy in all our internal concerns. He showed how they were becoming the promo-ters of a Paper Currency, Public Debt, Executive Patronage, Protection, &c.

After the close of his speech, the Senate trans acted other unimportant business, and adjourned. House.-Petitions and resolutions were pre-

sented. Some discussion took place on the reference of the President's Message.

Mr. Giddings moved the reference of so much as related to the Amistad case to a Select Committee, and made a few remarks calculated to di-rect public attention to the flagrant character of the demand of the Spanish Government.

SUPREME COURT.

December 29 .- No. 11. New Jersey Steam Navgation Company, appellant, vs. Merchants' Bank Boston.

The argument of this cause was continued by

Mr. Ames for the appellant.
Adjourned till to-morrow at 11 e'clock. December 30 .- No. 12. The United States, plain tiffs, vs. Beverly Daniel's Executors, on a certifi-cate of division in opinion between the Judges of the Circuit Court of the United States for North Carolina. Mr. Justice McLean delivered the opinion of the Court in this cause, that the action

opinion of the Court in this cause, that the action in the form prosecuted will not lie.

No. 11. The New Jersey Steam Navigation Company, appellants, vs. The Merchants' Bank of Boston. The argument of this cause was continued by Mr. Ames for the appellant. ued by Mr. Ames for the appellant.
Adjourned until to-morrow at 11 o'clock, A. M.
December 31.—No. 11. The New Jersey Steam
Navigation Company, appellant, vs. the Merchants' Bank of Boston. The argument of this
cause was continued by Mr. R. W. Greene, for
the appelles.

the appellee.
Adjourned till Monday at 11 o'clock. January 3, 1848 .- No. 11. The New Jersey Steam Navigation Company, appellants, vs. The Merchants' Bank of Boston. The argument of this cause was continued by Messrs. Greene and Webster for the appellees.

Adjourned until to-morrow at 11 o'clock, A. M.

MEXICO.

Gen. Patterson, with his large train, has entered the city of Mexico.

The Mexican Congress, on the 6th ult., had a quorum. A rumor was abroad, that Commission ers were to be despatched to Havana, to treat for peace with the United States. Capt. James Smith, of the 2d infantry, died at Encero on the 4th ult.

The New Iris states that the Mexican Government had called Canalzio, Alcosta, and Lombardini, for the purpose of giving them a commission to raise a new army. Lieut. Whipple, some months since a captive

among the Mexicans, is now at Puebla, acting as adjutant to Gen. Lane. Col. Hughes has been appointed civil and military Governor of Jalapa.

Senor Rosa, Minister of Justice and Ecclesias

tical Affairs, had published a decree protesting against the sale of church property, except for the benefit of the Mexican Government and the church

Senor Smith, civil and military Governor of Mexico, thereupon issued his decree, as follows: "OFFICE OF THE CIVIL AND MILITARY GOVERNOR, National Palace, Mexico, Dec. 10, 1847.

"1. Any decree of the Mexican General Government affecting or modifying the political rights of those living in the territory occupied by the American army is null, and any attempt t promulgate such decree as effective, or to enforc without the consent and approbation of the merican authorities, will be considered and pun-American authorities, will be c ished as a direct opposition to them.

"2. The people of the city of Mexico have the right to make their municipal elections without

y interruption.

"Persifer F. Smith, Brevet Brig. Gen.
and Civil and Military Governor
By the Governor:

"R. P. Hammond, Secretary."

THE MEXICAN CONGRESS AND PRESIDENT

In the New Orleans Delta, of the 23d ultimo we find a series of letters from "Mustang," their excellent correspondent at Mexico, from which we extract the following:

"Mexico, December 13, 1847. "Mexico, December 13, 1847.

"I informed you, in my letter of the 4th inst, that the Government at Queretaro were anxious and willing to make a peace; that if the despatches to Mr. Trist had been three days longer reaching him, a treaty would have been concluded—of this there is no doubt. My informant is a gentleman at Queretaro, who is well conversant with the movements and measures of the Mexican Government. He also informed me, as I then wrote you, that the Convention of Governors, which adjourned about the 1st instant, were unanimous in their about the 1st instant, were unanimous in their views, that the only way for the Mexicans to pre-

is about the 1st instant, were unanimous in their views, that the only way for the Mexicaas to preserve their nationality, and retain any portion of their territory, was immediately to conclude a peace—'an honorable peace;' and that it was not dishonorable in them to sell their territory;' and, furthermore, that the Government, had mutually pledged themselves to the support of each other, if they had succeeded in concluding with Mr. Trist a treaty of peace.

"The commissioners on the part of Mexico have been in this city, and, I am informed, have been endeavoring to arrange with Mr. Trist. Whether they have succeeded, no person as yet is apprized; but I hope, for the interests of our country, that he will, if he is so enabled, go home with the treaty in his pocket. Not only the interests of the country, but the interests of the world, and the preservation of the honor of our gallant little army, who labored so hard and accomplished so much, require it at his hands. One thing is certain: Mr. Trist did not go home with the last train, which left here on the 9th instant. From this, we might conclude that he intends having some understanding with the Mexicans before he leaves. I think it altogether probable he will either make a treaty, or take home with him the propositions of the Mexicans. If he makes a treaty, there is but little doubt of its being confirmed immediately after the organization of the Mexican Congress, in January."

INTELLIGENCE FROM BRAZIL AND LA

gress, in January.

By way of Rio Janeiro, the New York Herald is in possession of news from Montevideo to the 25th October; but nothing of importance had transpired since previous advices.

From Entre Rios and Corrientes, the news is

fensive line could easily be maintained, and at comparatively small cost.

Another campaign was to be provided for—what now shall be done? The President recommends the vigorous prosecution of the war, not for conquest, but for peace. He could not approve or support such policy. The cost of another campaign would be still greater—it would reach sixty millions of dollars. The army would be raised to seventy thousand men. Lest would be 15th October, state that this occurrence threw sixty millions of dollars. The army would be raised to seventy thousand men. Last year an unfortunate famine in the Old World furnished a rich market for our products, and the returns in specie were large. Now there is a panic in the money market. Specie is going abroad, and specie is sent to Mexico. The Treasury is drained at both ends. Men may be raised; money cannot be had so easily.

But, suppose the war successful—and he had no fears for our arms—the more successfully it was no fears for our arms—the more successfully it was not be the successful of the money market. Specie is going abroad, and specie is sent to Mexico. The Treasury is drained at both ends. Men may be raised; money cannot be had so easily.

But, suppose the war successful—and he had no fears for our arms—the more successfully it was not be move towards the frontier. It is probable that the next arrival from La Plata will bring use that the next arrival from La Plata will bring use that the next arrival from La Plata will bring use to take a hostile attitude. Within forty—the whole province was under arms, and the Governor, at the head of his troops, was on the move towards the frontier. It is probable that the next arrival from La Plata will bring use the province into a state of great excitements, and that plustings and labor were suspended contrasting sadly with the profound peace and universal industry which so lately reigned there. The presence of Madariaga on the frontier, at the head of a respectably-sized army, determined Urquize to take a hostile attitude. Within forty—the province into a state of great excitements, and that province into a state of great excitements, and that plustings and labor were suspended contrasting sadly with the profound peace and universal industry which so lately regreated that all business and labor were suspended contrasting sadly with the profound that all business and labor were suspended contrasting sadly with the profound that all business and labor were suspended contrasting sadly with the profoun news of the invasion of the province of Corrientes.

From Buenos Ayres there is nothing new. The
French, at the last accounts, kept up the blockade of that port.

TERRIBLE STEAMBOAT EXPLOSION AND

CINCINNATI, Dec. 30, 1847-1 P. M. tion of the nationality of Mexico.

He spoke at large upon the policy of subjugating Mexico, and annexing her States as provinces or as States. Annexation could never be voluntary—and who could desire it? Ours was the Government of the White man. No other than the Caucasian race can sustain a free, republican Government. The Spanish South American Republics had failed, because they had abolished the relation which placed the inferior race in subjection to the superior. One million of the Mexicans was from the old Castilian stock. One or two millions more were of the white race. The rest were Indians and Half Breeds. He pro-

precedent, but with a perfect willingness that the decision should be reversed by the House.

Mr. Cobb, to test the point, appealed; but the House sustained the decision of the Chair, by a many from being saved, who otherwise would have been rescued from the wreck by boats and various crafts which went to their ass

STATE LIBERTY CONVENTION. GRAND RALLY.

It is time for the Liberty Party in Massac moving with energy. Our national banner is flying, bearing the honored and worthy names of Halm and Kino. Massachusetts must give them a generous support. To do this, we must use the means. We must be organized. We must hold meetings. We must circulate the documents. We are first in the field with our candidates. Let us keep shead of everything in our zeal and energy and activity. The other paries cannot get away from their entanglement with Slavery, but must sink or swim as they can within its throttling Slavery, those who become wearied from party entanglements will have nowhere to go but to the Liberty Ticket. Let u

prepare for a great accession to our ranks, by showing our-selves to be firm, magnanimous, and energetic. For this purpose, the State Central Committee have re-solved to call our customary annual Mass Convention at Fanueli Hall, on Wednesday, the 26th of January, at 10 t home about that time, and will be present and address the

CORRESPONDENCE OF THE ERA. BALTIMORE CORRESPONDENCE.

Reflections on the New Year-An Appropriate Ser mon by Rev. G. W. Burnap—This Gentleman's Church, and his Position—The Unitarians and the War-Proceedings of the Legislature of Maryland-Gov. Pratt's Message-Its Recommen tions and its Tone-Pennsylvania and Maryland Fugitive Slaves-Mr. Clagett again in the Field-The Tobacco Warehouses Threatened - Jealousy of Ohio Tobacco Culture-Free vs. Slave Produce Petition for the Expulsion of the Free Blacks-Progress of the Spirit of Discussion in Baltimor BALTIMORE, January 3, 1848.

To the Editor of the National Era: Well, we have entered upon a New Year, and the minds of all are naturally occupied with retrospections and anticipations, hopes and fears. It is well that it is so. It is profitable to look back on the past year, and ask ourselves, What have I done for humanity? Have I lived for any definite end? Have I achieved any good purpose? Is the world any better for my presence? And it is still more profitable to look forward, and resolve upon some definite and fixed course of life; to redeem the Past, if we are conscious of having wasted it in idleness, or employed it for sinful purposes; to lead a life of activity in some useful sphere, instead of suffering the powers with which we have been endowed to rust out, and thus to lose their natural spring and capacity!

Yesterday being the first Sunday of the New Year, our clergymen, of course, all adapted their discourses to the occasion. Having become aware but the other day that Rev. George W. Burnap, so celebrated for his lectures on the "Sphere and Duties of Woman," (a book which has, by the by enjoyed a very wide Christmas sale,) was preaching in the new hall at the corner of Calvert and Saratoga streets, I concluded to hear his New Year's sermon. I have no cause to regret my choice. To say nothing of the great improvement in the sound of the preacher's voice, which was so execrable at the church, the discourse was, certainly, one of rare excellence. Its aim was to show that Christianity is practical, not theoretical; that it should be an every day matter, not mere Sunday habit; that the man or woman who fled from the duties of the "world," so called, in ledged that they were not prepared for the truest test of their piety! It was plainly shown that the whole of life is religion, if wisely lived; and the necessity of commencing the New Year with defi-

the whole of life is religion, if wisely lived; and the necessity of commencing the New Year with definite purposes was eloquently urged upon us, and enforced by various striking illustrations. The sermon was, in a word, one of rare practicality, and therefore calculated to do good. The more wealthy members of his congregation could not better appropriate a few dollars of the profits of the past year than in the issue of a pamphlet edition of it for general circulation.

Mr. Burnap announced that the church in which his congregation have been accustomed to worship would probably be ready for their return by next Sunday. This imposing edifice has been under repair for some months past. It is said to be greatly benefited thereby, in many respects, a fine sounding-board being among the improvements. Some such appliance was sadly needed. As I have hinted, the sound was, under the old arrangement, positively unendurable. The reverend gentleman also announced that the subject of his first discourse in the renovated building would be the origin and history of Unitarianism in general, and of the First Independent Church in Baltimore in particular. My personal regard for the speaker, and my desire to see him make proper use of his very favorable position for usefulness in the line of Reform, (preaching, as he does, chiefly to New Englanders and their descendants,) leads me to express the hope that he will take occasion to indicate the anti-war and antislavery attitude so nobly assumed by his clerical brethren in their address to Unitarians, and offer the accompanying petition for the withdrawal of your blood-stained army from Mexico, to his congregation, for signature, as requested to do in said address. The effect would be unquestionably gregation, for signature, as requested to do in said address. The effect would be unquestionably good, while the step itself, I doubt not, would be

good, while the step itself, a dudor not, would be responded to approvingly by his flock. Shall such an opening for clerical heroism be disregarded and lost? Let it not be!

Our Legislature commenced its first biennial session on Monday, under unusually interesting circumstances. The new Governor (Philip Francis Thomas) will be inaugurated to-day. Of course, ethere will be a "rush" to great him. He will, no doubt, be surprised to discover that he has so many "friends," such disinterested ones, too! The valedictory message of his predecessor was delivered on last Tuesday. It is comparatively brief, and unusually well written—good tempered withal, which is a rare quality in our Southern messages at the present juncture. It exhibits a very gratifying condition of our finances under the resumption movement, and urges the necessity of continued exertions to sustain the faith of the State. The great importance of the extension of our railroad to the Ohio is insisted on, and an exhortation is given not to let the golden opportunity to secure a right of way through one of the intervening sister States be lost forever.

His Excellency appears to have a just regard for the prosperity of Baltimore, and to be actuated by none of those petty jealousies exhibited so filercely by certain individuals identified with the special interests of the section from which he came. He is a Prince George's man, and yet his message was scarcely dry before a representative from the same county (Thomas W. Clagett, of liberty-of-the-press-denouncing memory) asked leave to bring in a bill to self the State tobacco warehouses in this city, and to require the inspections to be made in the tobacco-growing region! The subject was referred to a special committee. If its report should speak as candidly as certain writers of Charles and Prince George's, a picture of the regregressive condition of said region will be presented gloomy enough, and one which will most graphically set forth the wreck and ruin consequent upon the slave system. I have no i

free colored field hands and house servants; and our non-slaveholding citizens will not allow them to be expelled for the benefit of an exclusive inter-est, which seeks to increase the value of slave labor by the removal of the competition of free labor. For this is the secret spring of this move-

ment of ruthless oppression.

The retiring Governor has shown good sense in treating the resolutions of Northern Legisla-tures, with respect to slavery, very differently from the Governors of South Carolina and Vir-ginia. He has respectfully referred certain reso-lutions of the Connecticut Legislature, relative to the War and the Proviso, to our own legislators although taking occasion to dissent from the views set forth therein, while assuming decided ground against slavery-restriction. Nor has he lost his temper when treating of the course of the author-ities of Pennsylvania with reference to fugitive slaves, and the determination of her citizens on the subject, although the Governor of Pennsylvania would not recognise flight from slavery as a crime! Governor Pratt's moderation is more renarkable in view of the fact, that he has been markable in view of the fact, that he has been a personal loser by fugitism! (There is now pending, before Prince George's county court, the trial of a free colored man, charged with aiding the escape of one of his female slaves.) He does not, however, despair of obtaining redress, but recommends that "an appeal to our sister State of Pennsylvania, be made, in a spirit of frankness and friendly expectable time?

and friendly expostulation."

The spirit of free inquiry, to which I have frequently referred as a cheering indication, is still doing its good office in our city. The question of the probability of the dissolution of the Union of the probability of the dissolution of the Union has been before the Murray Institute, for the second time, and will come up again on Wednesday evening. The discussion, thus far, has been neither so able nor so thorough and candid as desirable, yet it will do good.

The question started in the prayer of certain of your citizens for the prohibition of the slave trade at the Nation's Capital, will be opened before the Philomathean Institute, on to-morrow evening. A hearty and protracted debate may be anticipated. I will report the result in a future letter.

J. E. S.

ture letter.

LETTER FROM PHILADELPHIA.

PHILADELPHIA, Dec. 29, 1847. PRILADELPHIA, Dec. 29, 1847.

Dr. Bailey: If you are not overrun with correspondents, I can furnish you with an occasional letter from Philadelphia. The matter of latest interest to the friends of freedom here, is the termination (for the present at least) of the slave case of Samuel Smith alias James Williams. He was arrested by a claimant from Maryland named Roth, and taken before Judge Kane, of the United States District Court. The history of the case is briefly this:

briefly this:

On Monday evening, the 20th instant, he was On Monday evening, the 20th instant, he was decoyed near to the office of Alderman Brazer, North Fifth street, arrested and taken to the office of the Alderman, on a charge made by Roth, of having stolen a coat from him in Cecil county, Maryland. Without being confronted by a witness, the Alderman immediately held him to bail, in the sum of \$300, for a further hearing. In default of hall he was committed to wigon. in the sum of \$300, for a further hearing. In default of bail, he was committed to prison. The next morning he was taken out on bail, and taken before Judge Kane, charged with being a fugitive from slavery; and, on application of G. W. Barton, Esq., counsel for the claimant, the further hearing of the case was postponed until the 28th instant, to enable the claimant to procure evidence from Maryland, that he was his slave. He was then committed by the United States marshal to the debtor's apartment of the county prison. It being against the law of Pennsylvania for a jailer to receive a fugitive slave into a prison of the being against the law of Pennsylvania for a jailer to receive a fugitive slave into a prison of the Commonwealth, Thomas Earle and Charles Gibbons, Esqs., as counsel for the alleged fugitive, applied to Judge Kelley, of the Court of Common Pleas, and obtained from him a writ of habeas corpus, directed to the jailer, commanding him to bring the body of the fugitive before the court. Pending the hearing of this writ before Judge Kelley, Judge Kane, of the District Court, sent an order to the jailer to deliver him to the United States marshal. This the julier complied with, and made return to Judge Kelley, that he was no longer in his custody.

and made return to Judge Kelley, that he was no longer in his custody.

At first it was supposed that there was a conflict of jurisdiction between the United States Court and State Court But, on reflection, Judge Kelley decided that Judge Kane had the right to amend his order of commitment, and commit him to some other place where he could be lawfully kept. The writ of habeas corpus was therefore dismissed. In the meanwhile, Alderman Brazer, his constable, Roberts, an officer named Kline, the claimant, Roth, and a colored man named Denby, were charged, on oath of the man named Denby, were charged, on out of the fugitive, with a conspiracy, falsely to imprison him, by charging him with the larceny of a coat, as above stated. By permission of Judge Kane, he was taken before Alderman Elkinton, to testify on this charge; and, after hearing, the defendfy on this charge; and, after hearing, the defendants, with the exception of Roth, who had gone to Maryland for his proofs, were held to bail, respectively, in sums from \$250 to \$1,000, for a further hearing; and the fugitive in the sum of \$500, to give further testimony. Yesterday, the second hearing came on before Judge Kane. Roth had taken great pains to procure documentary evidence of his claim from Maryland; but, on submitting it to the Court, it was objected to by the counsel for the slave, (with whom was now associated David Paul Brown, Esq..) as not being authenticated according to the laws of the United States. The objection was sustained, and the evidence ruled out. Mr. Barton, counsel for the claimant, then applied for a further postponement dence ruled out. Mr. Barton, counsel for the claimant, then applied for a further postponement of the hearing, to enable them to perfect their authentications. After argument, the application was refused, on the ground that the claimant had been guilty of laches, as he had had sufficient time to perfect them, if he had used due diligence. Parol testimony was next offered, but it was held to be insufficient, and the Judge ordered him to be discharged. He is still held to testify in the conspiracy case: and whether his claimant can conspiracy case; and whether his claimant can or will make a fresh effort to take him, remains

to be seen.
In my next week's letter I will endeavor give you some reflections on the "Model Artistes," who are making some stir here, and expect shortly to visit Washington.

ALGERNON SIDNEY. LETTER FROM INDIANA.

South HANOVER, IA., Dec. 24, 1847. Dr. Bailey: I have been exceedingly interested in your extracts and speculations, from week to week, as to the probable course of Northern Democrats on the Proviso. The letters of Mr. R. D. Owen, published some time ago, and the public declarations of several other distinguished members of the party, who opposed the Proviso on the first vote, lead to the hope that they, too, will be found at last on the side of Liberty, in favor of extending the area of freedom, indeed.

The St. Lawrence Republican, in a valuable article, copied by you, refers to the success of the Democrats in the last election as being exactly proportioned to the zeal and distinctness with which they urged the principles of the Proviso. Among other instances, is that of one member from Indiana, who voted against it, and who was re-elected by a majority of only 42 votes. The Hon. T. J. Henley is the member from Indiana here alluded to, and the facts with regard to his re-election are even much more encouraging than DR. BAILEY: I have been exceedingly interestre-election are even much more encouraging than they are given in the article quoted. Mr. Hen-

here alluded to, and the facts with regard to his re-election are even much more encouraging than they are given in the article quoted. Mr. Henley's majority over his opponent in 1845 was about 900 votes; I think more than that. In 1847, so unpopular was his vote against the Proviso, that his majority was reduced, as stated, to 42. But this is not all. So conscious was Mr. Henley of the light in which the matter was viewed, that, in canvassing, he placed his defence entirely on the ground assumed by Mr. Owen, and declared, most emphatically and unequivocally, in my hearing, and after being questioned by me, that he was in favor of the Proviso, and had always been in favor of it; that he had no doubt it would be brought up again and passed, and that he intended to vote for it and support it with all his power; and farther, that he had always supported it when introduced, and had never voted against it!

Under these circumstances, after such public declarations, surely there can be no doubt that, in the great struggle approaching, Mr. Henley will be found representing the vast majority of his constituents, and battling strongly for the right. In make these statements in justice to him, and that his position may not be misunderstood. I have not only taken particular pains, but have had the best opportunities to learn Mr. Henley's course before the people on the matter; and you, Doctor, can certify that I am not likely to misrepresent him, from any Whiggish partialities.

The Examiner and Herald, the two great lights of Liberty in the West, are holding on their course unfaltering. In the latter case, your mainthat has fallen on a worthy successor. The ability, good temper, and judgment, with which the Herald is conducted are worthy of all praise; their materity, when coupled with the age of the editor, have often surprised me. On this point, you know, my gray hairs entitle me to speak with confidence. The marked ability and fairness, and not less the unfailing good nature and good humor with which it is edited, mus

DOMESTIC MARKETS.

So far as the flour and grain markets are concer holydays are not yet over; and all the information we impart is, that the wagon price of flour is \$5.75, with very light re-ceipts. No sales from stores. Nothing doing in grain, and none offering. Dealers remain very torpid.—Gazette.

BALTIMORE, January 3. Cattle.—Prices ranged from \$2.25 to \$3.50 per 100 pounds at the hoof, equal to \$4.50 a \$6.75 nett, and averaging \$3

on the hoof, equal to \$4.50 a \$6.75 net, and averaging \$3 gross.

Hogs.—Sales of live hogs are making at \$5 a \$5.25.

Flour.—Te-day, 700 barrels were sold at \$6, at which rate more was offered; and we learn that some 300 barrels were sold at \$5.53.

We hear of a small sale of City Mills flour at \$6.12, which is the only transaction reported to us to-day.

Grain.—Very little wheat at market, and the sales show a decline in price. Good to prime red wheat at \$1.30 a \$1.35; white, \$1.55 a \$1.40; family flour white, \$1.40 a \$1.45. White corn at \$7 a 59 cents, and yellow at 62 cents.

Provisions.—Fork, city packed, \$15. Mess beef, \$12; No. 1 \$10; prime, \$8. A lot of old Western bacon, sides, at 6 cents, and some small parcels at 6 1-4 a 6 1-2 cents; good shoulders, 6 cents, in limited lots; new city cured sides at 7 1-2 cents, and shoulders at the same rate. Lard, in Regs, has been sold at 73-4 a 8 cents; in harrels, 7 1-4 a 7 1-2 cents.

THE NATIONAL ERA:

WASHINGTON CITY, DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA. BAILEY, EDITOR ; JOHN G. WHITTIER, CORRESPOND-

L. P. NOBLE, PUBLISHER.

The leading purpose of this journal is, the discussion of the question of Slavery, and the advocacy of the main principles of the Liberty Party. Due attention is given to Social

and Political Questions of general importance; nor are the interests of a Pure Literature overlooked. It aims to preserve a faithful record of important events; f inventions or discoveries affecting the progress of Society: of public documents of permanent value; and, during the sessions of Congress, to present such reports of its proceedings, as will convey a correct idea not only of its action, but of its spirit and policy. The debates on the exciting subjects of Slavery and the Mexican War, expected to arise in the of slavery and the mexican war, expected to arise in the next Congress, will occupy a large share of its columns.

A distinguishing feature of the Era is the large space it devotes, weekly, to a fair exhibition of the public sentiment, both of the slaveholding and non-slaveholding States, by coplous extracts from their leading journals, and from the pro-

pious extracts from their leading journals, and from the pro-ceedings of legislative bodies and important public meetings throughout the country.

Arrangements have been made for extending and enriching its already valuable Department of Home and Foreign Cor-

It is printed on a mammoth sheet, of the finest quality, in the best style, at \$2 a year, payable in advance. The generous spirit in which the Era has been welcomed by the Public Press, and the very liberal patronage it has us to hope for large accessions to our subscription list.

It is desirable that subscriptions be forwarded without de-

lay, so that they may be entered before the approaching Congress. Address L. P. NOBLE,

Publisher of the National Era, Washington, D. C. UST PUBLISHED—Causes of National Solicitude: A Sermon preached in the 13th Presbyterian Church, New York, on Thankrgiving Day, November 25, 1847, by Rev. Samuel D. Burchard. A few copies have been secured, and can be purchased only of the subscriber. Price 12 1:2 cents. Also, "A Discourse delivered at the Plymouth Church, Brooklyn, New York, on Thanksgiving Day, the 25th of November, 1847: By Henry Ward Beecher"—a hand-some covered pamphlet of 25 pages octave, which should have a place in the library of every Anti-Slavery man. Price 12 1:2 cents single, \$1 per dozen. For sale at the Anti-Slavery Depository, 22 Spruce street, New York, by Jan. 6. BIRNEY & SHIELDS, Attorneys at Law, corner of Main

Dand Court streets, Cincinnati.

JAMES BIRNEY, Notary Public and Commissioner to take acknowledgments of deeds and depositions for the States of Maine, Vermont, Connecticut, Michigan, New Hampshire, Missouri, Illinois, Tennessee, New York, and Arkansas.

Jan. 6.—tf

Jan. 6.—tf

MOUNT PLEASANT BOARDING SCHOOL, FOR BOYS, Amherst, Massuchusetts; Rev. J. A. Nash, Principal.—The winter session of this school will commence on Wednesday, November 3, and will continue till April 1, 1843—five months. Pupils are received from eight to sixteen years of ago. The number is limited to twenty-five. Catalogues and circulars, containing, together with a list of the pupils and their residences, a statement of the character, plan, and object of the school, may be obtained by addressing the Principal, at Amherst, Mass.

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dings, J. G. Palfrey, and others, on the relations of the United States Government to Slavery, and embracing a history of the Mexican War, its origin and objects. By Loring Bloody, of Boston, Massachusetts. Price 20 cents.

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Picture of Slavery—for Youth—by the author of "the Branded Hand," &c. 36 pages, 12mo, with several engrav-ings. Price 8 cents. & New Tructs, at eighty cents per hundred. No. 1. Slavery and the Slave Trade at the Nation's Cap-

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Nov. 11.

TOREIGN PERIODICALS.—

Nov. 11. WILLIAM HARNED, Office Agent.

FOREIGN PERIODICALS.—
BREUSLIGATION OF
THE LONDON QUARTERLY REVIEW,
THE EDINBURGH REVIEW,
THE NORTH BRITISH REVIEW,
THE WESTMINSTER REVIEW, and BLACKWOOD'S EDINB'GH MAGAZINE.

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LEONARD SCOTT & CO., Publishers,
LEONARD SCOTT & CO., Publishers,
Jan. 7.—6m

THE DAILY NATIONAL WHIG is published in the city
of Washington, every day, at three o'clock P. M., Sundays excepted, and served to subscribers in the City, at the Navy Tard, in Georgetown, in Alexandria, and in Baltimore, the same evening, at six and a quarter cents a week, payable to the sole agent of the Whig, G. L. Gillchrest, Esq., or his order. It is also mailed to any part of the United States for \$4 per amun, or \$2 for six months, payable in advance.

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The National Whig is what its name indicates. It speaks the sentiments of the Ming party of the United States for the Silley payable in advance, and the measures and acts of the Administration deemed to be adverse to the interests of the country, for the discussion of public about of the Presidency of Zaohary Taylor, subject to the decision of

of admitting a particular State into the Union, Congress would not have the consolation of the silk-worm, that, although it might die, it would still leave behind it a generation again to do the work which it could do no longer. Its power is rather to be compared to the ocean which bore rather to be compared to the ocean which bore our benefactions to the suffering poor in Ireland, and is not at all disabled to bear them again on her bosom, whenever their wants and our ability may tell us the time has come to do so.

But is not the grant to Congress over the Territories absolute! Is it in any way divided? Have "the people" any fraction of it, or can they resume it, in the absence of those measures which they themselves have appointed in the Constitution for that purpose? Certainly not. Have not Congress, for any reason that may be sufficient to them, the power to keep our Territories always as Territories? They have, and no one, as the case now stands, can interfere with them. The whole subject of admission, or non-admission, as is well said by the Era, is left to their discretion. If Congress choose not again for the discretion. If Congress choose not again for the next twenty years to exercise their absolute power of making a State, and admitting it into the Union—for Congress, and not a presented State Constitution, does both—can they not do so? Are the magnificent proportions of the sun less, whilst it is behind the moon in eclipse, or concealed from our vision by a temporary cloud of the

Let us suppose that a Constitution, to elevate one of our Territories into a State, was presented to Congress, with nothing objectionable in it but the enslavement of all poor persons, of whatever the enslavement of all poor persons, of whatever complexion—man, woman, and child, with their posterity, forever—who could not produce twenty dollars each, or have it, in good faith, produced for them. Let us further suppose, that Congress, as is indeed the case, are desirous to convert the Territory into a State. Up to the very moment that witnesses the ratification of the presented Constitution, Congress are as fully bound, as the Era truly admits, as they ever were, to protect all the rights of the Territorial poor now intended to be englaved as of the rights in the land. In this the rights of the Territorial poor now intended to be enslaved, as of the richest in the land. In this be enslaved, as of the richest in the land. In this case, Congress is placed in a dilemma, which no ingenuity can avoid; it may reject the State Constitution, because of the slavery embodied in it, and keep the Territory a Territory still; or it may accept of the Constitution, and establish slavery as effectually as if they did it themselves. Most people say and think that Congress cannot establish slavery. But is not the ratification of a State Constitution an act of Congress? Can my establish slavery. But is not the ratification of a State Constitution an act of Congress? Can my other body of men do it? If I have entire control of a field and the fences which surround it, and if I let down the latter, so that my cattle get into my neighbor's field, does not common sense say that I do the act, and not a person who stands by to take advantage of it, but who cannot move till I do? It will not do for Congress to say that, inasmuch as they cannot directly establish slavery, their consent to a State Constitution containing this provision amounts to nothing, in any way this provision amounts to nothing, in any way—
that it is a dead letter. Not so, if they should
reject the Constitution, there would not be any
enslavement of their poor constituents; if they
should accept it, every person must perceive that, should accept it, every person must perceive that, by this act, they consign to a subordinate Government all their rights, while still demanding from them the same subjection or allegiance to the laws of the United States, as when they were under a Territorial form; that, by their own decision, they hand over to others rights which they know will be destroyed, instead of being protected as they had been; that they give them up to a Government whose enormities they cannot cor-Government whose enormities they cannot cor-rect, and over which they acknowledge they have no control on this subject; in fine, that they give permission to others to strip a class of their con-stituents of all their rights, whilst no attempt is ever made to inform the victims of the atrocity neditated against them.*

Whilst I am well aware that no constitutiona

argument, to be relied on, can be built upon anything but the Constitution as it ought to be, and thing but the Constitution as it ought to be, and not on the varying practices of men under it, no more effectual device could be planned by Congress for doing what they had no authority to do, than the foregoing. That the framers of the Constitution expected—however unwisely, as it has turned out—that slavery would so disappear as to render any formal abolition unnecessary; and that, as a means towards that end, no slave State was ever afterwards to be formed, or admitted into the Union, I fully believe. But the members of Congress, since the adoption of that instrument, have not thought so. That they love slavery, that they think it a good institution, tending to promote the growth and civilization of a people, I do not yet believe. But the slaveholders, by being do not yet believe. But the slaveholders united on this subject, have secured to themselves the management of the Government; and a proper subservience of the members from the free States may feed them and their friends with the crumbs may feed them and their friends with the crumbs of an office. In this way, on the part of some—by indifference to Liberty on the part of others—every State that has made application for admission into the Union, slaveholding or not, has been admitted—till we have now as many slave States as free, Congress having put freedom and slavery on equal terms, so far as forming new States and admitting them into the Union is concerned. They have found out, too, that they can do by others what they cannot do themselves—there being no scheme more effectual to promote and extend slavery than to ratify a State Constitution providing for it, and then saying that this Constitution can no more be intermeddled with, because it is a State Constitution, and that the sufferers, abandoned at a time when they most needed protection and direction, must get their rederers, abandoned at a time when they most need-ed protection and direction, must get their re-dress, if entitled to any, from slaveholding State judges, or from a submissive United States Court, or not at all. If this is not an attempt to alienate the powers—the sovereign right—of protection, conferred on them by the people, and upon none others, I know not by what name to describe it.

others, I know not by what name to describe it.

The dogmas I have been examining, in the foregoing remarks, are professed by those in this country, especially at the South, who are called a State-rights party. Whilst the schemers among them know that their notions will guard slavery from the molestation of the law, they fancy that they are defending the rights of the States, about to be swallowed up in a consolidated Goyernment. By a show of chivalry, too—of helping the inferior and weaker party, the State, against a superior and antagonistic and oppressive party, the United States—they have beguiled well-meaning men into their ranks. This party is composed of both Whigs and Democrats, they not choosing, under this name, to contend for the offices of the General Government The slaveholding members of Congress having the ascendency in that body, the members from the free States, some to show their subscrvience, some because they are indifferent to Liberty as a principle, join this confederacy, whenever a Constitution providing for slavery is to be ratified.†

whenever a Constitution providing for stavery is to be ratified.†

But was such antagonism as the State-rights advocates would persuade us to believe exists between the General and State Governments, ever contemplated? Were they not intended to be harmonious in their respective spheres—the General Government having such powers delegated to it as really made it a Government—while the individual States managed smaller matters, especially those with which they were more particularly concerned?

cially those with which they were more particularly concerned?

Persons among us seem to think, if a Government be "delegated," (and that of the United States is, perhaps, more formally delegated than any other.) that it must necessarily be inferior. But is not this opposed to fundamental American principles, which suppose that all just government is derived from the people, to be used for their good, and, of course, delegated? So a Government, as ours, may have all the necessary and proper powers of a Government "delegated" to it.

By adverting to the 6th article of the Constitution ernment, as ours, may have all the necessary and proper powers of a Government "delegated" to it.

By adverting to the 6th article of the Constitution of the United States, it will be found that the harmony of the General and State Governments, above spoken of, is secured as far as anything of the kind can be. The Executive of the United States, the Judiciary, the Members of Congress—in fine, all officially connected with the Government—are bound by oath or affirmation to support the Constitution. But this is not all. The Governor and every executive officer of every State, the judges, the members of the several State Legislatures, are bound, in the same way, to support it. If a suit be brought in a State Court, and it be shown that the claim of the plaintiff is in contravention of the Constitution of the United States, or any law of Congress passed in pursuance of it, the action is defeated as a matter of course. This, too, if the claim is founded on a State law, whether passed unadvisedly or not; for the State judges are bound to observe the Constitution and laws of Congress, "anything in the Constitution or laws of any State to the contrary notwithstanding." Besides all this, and it seems to be a pretty ample designation of their respective powers, the States make up collectively the United States; individually, they are part and parcel of our country—almost as much so as Sussex and Kent are parts of England, or New and Old Castile parts of Spain.

In this state of the case, how could a slave help

In this state of the case, how could a slave help getting his freedom acknowledged, whether he sued for it in a State court, or in a court of the United States? If Congress, as the Era admits, cannot pass a law to enslave him, because such a law would be unconstitutional in that body, such a law must also be unconstitutional in the State that passes it. It is not denied here that a State may pase a law to regulate interests which are delegated to Congress, and on which Congress may not have acted—for instance, the "insolvent laws," as they are generally called, intended to be in the place of a bankrupt law—but any State law epposed to the Constitution of the United States is inoperative and void, and therefore unconstitutional. All, then, that the slave would properly have to do would be to show that the law, or usage, or practice, by which he is enslaved, is

a law which Congress could not pass, a usage or practice they could not enforce.

The foregoing argument was meant to be confined to the relation of the Constitution to shavery; therefore, nothing has been said of the ordinance of 1787. But I must not pass by altogether unnoticed so important, so decisive a document. After declaring that slavery or involuntary servitude should not exist in the Northwest Territory, except as a punishment for crimes of which the party had been duly convicted, it provided "that any person escaping into the same, from whom labor or service is lawfully claimed in any one of the original States, such fugitives may be

whom labor or service is lawfully claimed in any one of the original States, such fugitives may be reclaimed." &c.

"Original States" mean the States that formed the Union, "new States" those that Congress might form and admit into the Union. It was as well understood by all men sixty years ago as it is now, that "original" States were as territorically discussed. that "original" States were as territorially dis-tinct from "new" States as Spain is from Italy; and that a power or right might be granted by the Northwest Territory to the States which constituted the United States then, and withheld from those that might afterwards be admitted into the Union, but were not even in being at that time. There was, in fact, a strong reason for it. There was then a general desire to get rid of slavery entirely. But as the "original States" had the drafting of the ordinance, they reserved to themselves the privilege—a privilege expected to be of no very long continuance—of reclaiming their slaves when they escaped into the Northwestern Territory. But nothing could more strongly dis-suade a "new" State from adopting slavery than the knowledge that slaves, when once they entered the Northwestern Territory, were free, to all in-tents and purposes. Since the ordinance was passed, States have been formed out of territory then foreign to us. These are certainly "new States. Yet the courts have decided that Mis souri, for example, can, like the "original States," go into any State formed from the Northwestern go into any State formed from the Northwestern Territory, and recapture her slaves who may have escaped thither. By what authority they have changed a constitutional provision, or its equiva-lent, if it is not one, so as to give Missouri a sov-ereignty in the States of the Northwestern Ter-ritory without their assent to it—so as to make "original" signify "new," and "new" "original," I know not. "Fair is foul, and foul is fair," with them, as it would seem even when human liberts.

in our country, that where liberty and slavery are the litigants, the courts lean to the side of slavery.

A few words on a subject that we do not seem to understand and practice, as well as we might. When a people assume political independence, they impliedly demand of all within their limits subjection or allegiance to the laws of their Gov-ernment. In the same way, they promise protection. Allegiance and protection are deemed, by the common sense of the impartial, as well as by the excellent author on national law already quoted, as altogether reciprocal. A Government, irrespectively of its nature, whether liberal or not, is born with them, and cannot exist without them, any more than a human being can long exist without air to breathe in. If a being be born into the world without eyes or nose or the necessary members, it would be pronounced a monster; so ought a Government to be that does not protect, and makes no attempt to protect, but rather robs of their natural rights the class least able to resist their natural rights the class least able to resist them, and from whom they claim allegiance. If a stranger but enter our country, every one, be he resident or not, is bound to respect his rights, and he theirs in return. Why so? Simply because the Government protects them both. Even a criminal who has fled from his own country cannot be taken from ours to be tried at home, unless in virtue of a treaty to that effect; and not then, till avery more care is taken to ascertain that he is

I know not. "Fair is foul, and foul is fair," with them, as it would seem, even when human liberty is at stake. I have purposely said nothing of Kentucky, which, although a "new" State, is formed out of one of the "original" States, because I wished to present a case about which there should be no doubt; but, even admitting this to be a doubtful one, the rule ought not first to be departed from

very proper care is taken to ascertain that he is every proper care is taken to ascertain that he is the person that ought to be sent.

If, then, a stranger merely passing through our country is bound to observe all the laws that apply to his condition, and if he is deservedly punished for violating them, how much stronger is the obligation of the resident to observe the laws that have protected him in his rights as a freeman from infancy to the present hour, and how much more obnoxious ought he to be to punishment for breaking them! Accordingly, we find, that as full allegiance is demanded to the Constitution and laws of the United States, of even the humblest resident or inhabitant of one of our Terhumblest resident or inhabitant of one of our Territories, as of the strongest or most wealthy. If, for instance, he rifle or by force detain the mail, or violate one of our treaties, or commit murder, especially on the high seas, he is tried for it in a United States court. By what authority? Because we protect him in his person and in his property. Now, if Congress ratify a State Constitution, by which this same man is enslaved, and he abandoned by that body entirely to the protection of those who have already, with their permission, stripped him of all his rights, do they, at the same time, discharge him from his allegiance to their Constitution and laws, or do they require it of him as strictly as at any former time? If he commit any of the offences above mentioned, is he not tried for them as thoroughly as when he was under the Territorial protection? We thus try in our courts a human being, even to the forfeiture of his life, for an offence against our laws, when we utterly refuse to protect him by our power. This is, indeed, committing the lamb to the wolf.

The foregoing construction of the Constitution does away with all necessity for a second Convention to form a second State Constitution, on which slavery may be engrafted, but which need not be submitted to Congress for their ratification. To our honor, this juggle has not been attempted yet; and it never will, if Congress will do what is incumbent on all Governments—give protection whenever it demands allegiance. If so, even the enslaved may yet rejoice in that freedom which the benevolence of God bestows on all his children, but which the cruelty of part of them perverts. itories, as of the strongest or most wealthy. If,

verts.

*When we offered to Texas, by annexing her, the sure protection of this Union, we required first that a Convention should be held, to get the popular consent to it.

† On the debate in the Senate (March 1, 1845) on the admission of Florida, inflammatory abuse, if not menaces, were used by the slaveholding members, when any objection was manifested, by the members from the free States, to the slaveholding part of her Constitution—rather more stringent than any they had yet seen. Mr. Evans, of Maine, attempting to conciliate them, said "he felt no disposition to defend the principles or measures of the Abolitionists." Mr. Hannegan, of Indiana, characterized their spirit as "hellish." Mr. Woodbridge, of Michigan, said "no human b ing could be more opposed to the Abolitionists than he was." These are mentioned, not as anything very extraordinary, (for they are but specimens,) but they do seem rather out of place in an American Senate, when spoken against those who would free the country from slavery.

SKETCHES AND ESSAYS. For the National Era. THE TEMPTATION.

BY MRS. EMMA D. E. SOUTHWORTH.

THE BALL AND THE BEAUX.

The next day was a busy one with Mrs. Brotherton and Sybil. At length, at seven o'clock, Miss Brotherton was arrayed for the festival. As I have never minutely described Sybil Brotherton, I had better de it now, while she is in her "best bib and tucker," when Katy declared she "looked like any angel," (angels don't wear white satin, mecklin lace, and pearls, Katy.) Sybil Brotherton was rather below the middle stature, with a slender frame, yet full formed, with rounded and tapering limbs, and a grace so natural that every movement expressed the poetry of motion. Her forehead was broad, high, and white; her eyes large, clear, and blue; her lips full, glowing, and beautiful. Her complexion was of that delicate and transparent white, so seldom seen except in consumptives, and in her checks was burning that fire of death that so resembles the rich rose of health. Her dark brown hair fell in long and shining ringlets upon her graceful neck and rounded bosom. Her pure and delicate beauty was set off to advantage by the rich dress of white satin and mecklin lace, and the bandeau of pearls contrasted well with her dark hair. The carriage of Col. Hines drew up before the door at eight o'clock, and Sybil, carefully wrapped in her velvet mantle and hood, was handed in, and driven off. On the morning after the ball, Mrs. Brotherton and Sybil were seated at breakfast, when the former said—

"You must now tell me, darling, who you saw at the ball, and who were your partners in the dance."

"Well, dear grandmother, there was the same THE BALL AND THE BEAUX

at the ball, and who were your partners in the dance."

"Well, dear grandmother, there was the same old set. The Etheringtons, and the Somervilles, and the Kinlocks, and the — Oh! by the way, Hector Kinlock presented the Hon. Meredith Mills, one of our Representatives in Congress. He is from the lower part of the county, but he has purchased Blocksley Place, and is coming to reside in this neighborhood."

"Ah! Meredith Mills. What sort of a person is he, my dear?"

"Why, he is a young man, talented, I rather think—agreeable—and—not married, grandma, if you mean that," and Sybil, with a sly smile.

"I am sorry to see you rather disposed to levity, my dear Sybil; pray avoid it. Meredith Mills—the name is familiar. Oh! yes; certainly, I know the family; a very eld family, originally from Lincolnshire; came over with the Calverts; certainly, the Mills of Meredith Place; and coming to live in our neighborhood; and not married."

"And very much smitten with Sybil Brotherton, and ooming to see her this morning."

"Why wo would take some refreshments. The young man swcred the summons, "go and give my complist the capture to the summons, "go and give my complist the test unmmons, "Brotherton, and ask her why she keeps us waiting thus, and desire her to come down; and, Broom, serve refreshments. Mr. Midleton has ridden far, and would like something. If the summons, "Sybil entered the room, followed by Broom with refreshments. The young man's the summons, "go and give my complist the capture to down; and, Broom, serve refreshments. Mr. Midleton has ridden far, and would like something. Mr. Middleton, do be seated."

A sinister smile flitted across the young man's the summons, "go and give my complist the summons, "go and give my complist the capture to down; and, Broom, serve refreshments. Mr. Midleton has ridden far, and would like something. Mr. Middleton, do be seated."

A sinister smile flitted across the young man's the summons, "go and give my complist the summons, "go and give my complistion."

A sinister smile fli

"And he was very agreeable."
"Dear grandmother, I never said so."
"And you were very much pleased with him."
"Dear grandmother! pleased with a gentleman at the first interview! I thought you had a beter opinion of me."

The old lady smiled.

The old lady smiled.

"Oh! a gentleman, was he? I thought you said he was a painter."

"An artist, grandmother, an artist; and surely an artist is a gentleman, if any man is."

"Humph! that depends upon whether he paints for money or amusement. But I shall not in future trust you to the care of any one. When I cannot attend you myself to public places, you must remain at home."

They were interrupted by a knock at the hall door and the entrance of old Broom, who informed the ladies that two gentlemen, Mr. Mills and Mr. Middleton, had called, and were waiting in the drawing-room.

the drawing-room.
"Go in and see them, my dear Sybil. I will

come presently," said Mrs. Brotherton.

As Sybil entered the drawing-room, Mr. Middleton advanced and led her to a seat, with the courtly grace of "sixty years since," hoping that Miss Brotherton had suffered no inconvenience from the fatigue of the preceding evening, or from the ride through the night air. Miss Brotherton had suffered no inconvenience

and was much obliged.

Sybil then addressed herself to Mr. Mills, and trusted that he would find the neighborhood pleasant and the neighbors agreeable.

Mr. Mills was pleased with the neighborhood, and anticipated much pleasure from a more intimate acquaintance with its residents.

At this moment the door opened, and Mrs. Brotherton entered. Both gentlemen arose from their seats, and Sybil named Mr. Mills—Mr. Middleton—Mrs. Brotherton. The latter gentleman met Mrs. Brotherton, led her to the sofa, and took a seat near her. Mrs. Brotherton exand took a seat near her. Mrs. Brotherton expressed to Mr. Middleton her gratification at forming his acquaintance. Mr. Middleton bowed reverently, and expressed his deep sense of the honor conferred upon him. The conversation honor conferred upon him. The conversation then became general. Mr. Middleton quite won the heart of Mrs. Brotherton, by descanting upon the beauties of Brotherton Hall, its antique look, its picturesque situation, its pleasant locality, &c. Mrs. Brotherton, in acknowledgment, begged that he would frequently honor the Hall with his presence. All this time, Miss Brotherton was trying to amuse the Hon. Meredith Mills, and was in no small degree astonished and pleased at the wonsmall degree astonished and pleased at the wondrous penchant her grandmother had conceived for "the portrait painter." The problem was soon solved. The gentlemen arose to take leave. Madam Brotherton hoped they would soon repeat their visit. The gentlemen declared that they should feel so happy in accepting her invitation, and they bowed themselves out. When the sound of their horses feet had died away—
"Well! what do you think of our visiters, grandma?" asked Svhil. gavlv.

"Why, my dear Sybil, I think Mr. Meredith Mills a remarkably handsome, intellectual, and polished young gentleman. Of Mr. Middleton, I had not much opportunity of judging. He, as I regretted to see, had his attention entirely engrossed by yourself during the whole time of his visit. One thing, however, did strike me. I never saw a fairer illustration of the fact that good blood will show itself through all disguises. Now, observe—those two men—they were both equally received in the same society; but now observe the difference. In Mr. Mcredith Mills, you saw the high-bred air of a gentleman of family; in Mr. Middleton was equally visible the mauvais honte of a low person. Mr. Mills was easy, graceful, and conversable; Mr. Middleton shy, awkward, and embarrassed. I never saw a fairer illustration of high bred evictorement and of nestart value.

garity."
Sybil listened to this disquisition, with eyes and Syoil listened to this disquisition, with eyes and lips wide open with astonishment.

"Why, my dear grandmother!" said she, "are you not under a mistake? Which of the gentlemen did you suppose to be Mr. Mills?"

"Why, of course, the Hon. Meredith Mills was the gentleman who conversed with me, while you was so when even ind with the other young you. were so much occupied with the other young per

on."

A smile flashed into the eyes and curled around A smile flashed into the eyes and curled around the lips of Sybil for an instant, and vanished, as she said, seriously—

"My dear grandmother, it's all owing to my awkward presentation, I suppose; but you have made the most amusing mistake. The tall, handsome, graceful, accomplished, and high-bred man, who led you to the sofa, and who charmed you so whath the intention of the sofa and who charmed you so whath the intention of the sofa and who charmed you so whath the intention of the sofa and who charmed you so whath the intention of the sofa and who charmed you so whath the intention of the sofa and who charmed you so whath the intention of the sofa and who charmed you so whath the intention of the sofa and th who led you to the sofs, and who charmed you so much by his intellectual conversation, and whom you have so highly approved and praised, was Harold Middleton, the portrait painter; and the little drab-colored gentleman, in light hair and a gray coat, was the Hon. Meredith Mills, of Mere-dith Place."

dith Place."

"I hope you do not jest with me, Miss Brotherton," said the old lady, looking curiously, between surprise, pique, and embarrassment.

"Or rather, you hope I do jest, dear grandmother, but I speak truth; however, your rule, I suppose, still holds good. This is but an exception." The old lady seemed consoled, and remarked

"There is one thing, however, that pleases me, my dear Sybil. It is, that you kept that young man, Middleton, at a proper distance, while you showed fitting respect for Mr. Meredith Mills."

Sybil smiled, but there was something sad, almost removed.

"MY GRANDFATHER, LORD MAINWARING."
A few weeks passed away. Sybil met young Middleton often in society. Indeed, he even came often to the house, where Mrs. Brotherton, in consideration of the pressing invitation extended to him on his first visit, continued to treat him with civility, if, indeed, the charming manners of the young man had not put it out of her power to treat him otherwise. Then, his unembarrassed manner to Miss Brotherton led off the suspicion that his affections were interested in her. The following circumstance opened the eyes of Mrs. Brotherton to the real position of the parties:

Col. Hines had proposed for the hand of Miss "MY GRANDFATHER, LORD MAINWARING."

Brotherton to the real position of the parties:

Col. Hines had proposed for the hand of Miss Brotherton; Mrs. Brotherton had made known his wishes to her granddaughter, who received the news of the revival and pressing of the obnoxious suit with so much agitation and distress, that Mrs. Brotherton perceived that her heart was no longer free, and, by her questions, soon ascertained who had become its master. Upon the same evening, it happened that young Middleton called, and was received by Mrs. Brotherton alone and coldly. Sybil was weeping in her own room. Young Middleton, perceiving the change in her manner, suspected the truth, for he had become well acquainted with the old lady's foible; he therefore soon arose to take his leave, remarking, as he did so.

soon arose to take his leave, remarking, as he did so,
"This is probably the last opportunity I shall have of paying my devoirs to the ladies of Brotherton Hall; for my grandfather, the Earl of Mainwaring, has written to command my immediate return to England."
"Sir! did I hear aright? Your grandfather, the Earl of Mainwaring!" exclaimed the old lady, thrown off her guard.
"Yes, madam," said young Middleton, quietly.
"Permit me to wish you a good evening. Pray present my most respectful regards to Miss Brotherton. Good evening, madam."
"No, no; do not go yet. You must take leave of Sybil—and—pray do me the favor to touch the bell. Perhaps you would take some refreshments."
The young man complied with her request, and—

"Sybil!" exclaimed the old lady, gravely looking over the top of her spectacles.

"My dear grandmother, you know one must be merry the day after a ball, if they are not fatigued."

"And is Mr. Mills coming here this morning?"

"And is Mr. Mills coming here this morning?"

"And what did you reply?"

"And what did you reply?"

"And what did you reply?"

"N—n—o, madam, none except?"——

"Except whom?"

"Nobody, in fact, but?——

"But whom?"

"Nobody, in fact, but?——

"But whom?"

"And who was he??"

"And who was he??!

"And he was very agreeable."

"And he was very agreeable."

"And he was very much pleased with him."

"Dear grandmother! pleased with him."

"Dear grandmother! pleased with a gentleman at the first interview! I thought you land a bet-in the first interview! I thought you land a bet-in the first interview! I thought you land a bet-in the first interview! I thought you land a bet-in the first interview! I thought you land a bet-in the first interview! I thought yo

Mainwaring, and that at least three persons stood between him and the Earl's coronet. But at least between him and the Earl's coronet. But at least he was the grandson of a peer, and that was much [TO BE CONTINUED.]

For the National Era. THE ELECTRIC.

I was born in the cold North. My mother, when first I was presented to her, cried out in amazement. My father, called to receive his first-born, shrunk back from the weird shape of his son. Emaciate, yet of perfect symmetry and finish-pale, cold, with long, silky black hair; dead, rest-less eyes—I scemed a changeling, an elf. My face was not of infancy—diminutive in every feature, it was yet mature—it bore the stamp of years. years.

They tell me I grew not up to manhood as

They tell me I grew not up to manhood as others do. I had no diseases. Never cried. Walked, from the first. Talked fluently before I was a year old, but only in my sleep—awake, I never spoke—and these dreamy rhapsodies were always of some summer land afar. Summer, and the glory of the torrid sun, was for me the climax of life's visions. Cold was the torpifying terror of my being; and the long winter of my nativity was terrible. At eighteen, though always puny, lank, and colorless, I appeared of the full growth of manhood. Steadfastly I resisted all attempts at confinement, and, from the first, was a wanderer in the mountains that surround my native er in the mountains that surround my native village. Upon the cliffs, in the caves and chasms, upon the lake, and by the rushing torrent, I learn-ed my only lessons by the oral teachings of Na-ture. Birds shunned me not. All animals of the wild were to me tame, and owned me partner of their sylvan revels. The long days of summer their sylvan revels. The long days of summer were my festivals. Winter alone struck me with palsy, and sent me cowering by the hearth-stone. Storm, wind, and rain, were to me an ecstasy, and my features, save the sound of thunder and the quick play of the red lightning. I remember faintly, incoherently, the scenes of my childhood. I can give no diversity to the unchanging monoto-ny of unrest which was upon me. I was mysteriously drawn ever to the southward. I pined in-cessantly for the sun. This is the sole and all-embracing reminiscence of my whole being, up to the period of my great change. I was miserable. I was divided. I was a spirit without a soul. There were strange phenomena about me. In the approach of a thunder storm, my whole frame be came instinct with a new sensibility. I felt a quivering fire searching out the fibres of my system and, strange to say, then, more than ever, perceived myself drawn southward. Ah, yes! by a most painful, indescribable tension, did I feel myself, as it were, flowing out of myself, and lapsing towards the south! My whole exterior bore testimony to this singular law of my being. My long lifeless locks, finer than gossamer, seemed streaming southward—the very garments about me—as though a north wind were sweeping by, and yet the storm might be only brooding in sombre re-serve, and no gust have descended upon the anx-ious forests. And in the wild outbreak of the elmy features. Then did a faint flush tinge my cheek, and some scintillating sparks part from my eyes. And when the storm passed away, and Nature returned to repose, how like death settled back upon me the nightmare of desire! How did every feature become lifeless; every movement uninspired; every attitude defected and languid. My locks hung lax. My eyes entombed their fires in sepulchral sockets. My cheek and lip regained their frigid pallor, and my tongue resumed its license by day, its incoherent ravings by night. My unhappy parents long regarded me with a species of horror—as an unaccountable portent—a species of demonized, a preternatural, lunatic; and yet the perfect readiness I at times displayed in acquiring all the arts of life, nay, rather, the innate, unacquired possession of them I exhibited—the untaught felicity of diction, though restricted by my dreams—all these forbade the idea of madness. There was an idiosyncracy unprecedented. They noted all my symptoms. They wrote off my night ravings, often in the form of rhythmic verse. They called in advice, and men far and near, of science and research, assembled to speculate upon the prodigy. Ultimately, all concurred in urging my father to follow what seemed to be the law of my nature, and travel to the south. He obeyed. We left the mountains. Ah! inhospitable climes! My soul shudders as thoughts come over me of your bleak and solemn heights! We descended the Hudson. We leisurely floated in our own barque down the Ohio. heights! We descended the Hudson. We leisurely floated in our own barque down the Ohio. Night and day we floated down. The universal curiosity and annoyance of the multitude precluded any more public conveyance. How the mysteries of those moonlight nights abide in my thoughts! I almost fancied that the spontaneous impulses of my nature added speed to our course. Methought, as I lay in the night and gazed upon the passing hills, that the force of some mysterious attraction was drawing me. I felt myself the passing hills, that the force of some mysterious attraction was drawing me. I felt myself press against the thwarts of the boat. I heard the ripple of the wave as we cleft it asunder. Day by day, a new life seemed preparing to dawn in my spirit. A tender, trembling ecstasy seemed brooding over me. To what was Fate conducting her offspring? Ah, how I rioted in triumphant mirth, as we whirled at last upon the boiling flood of the Mississippi. Down we went among her islands, between her desolate ahores, past her wide plantations. We swept along her swoollen tide just even with the Levee; and I gazed out upon the fertile fields as of a foreign yet familiar clime. The sun came blazing down upon me, and brought comfort to my soul. Yes; I began to expand into a more generous life. Chains seemed falling—shackles breaking from my eager spirit every moment. I seemed to float around myself—to pervade the space where I was. No longer cooped within that narrow form, my exuberant life exhaled and undulated in vibrating electricity around that somatic nucleus. Glad voices called me onward. Genial nature proffered prodigal welcome. Oh, how did the force that drew me down increase and acquire dominion as we obeyed its strees, as we approached that ineffable concealed perihelium of destiny! We ploughed the foaming tide. We seemed lifted above the waters, and borne on a flashing streak of foam, to dart phosphorescent over the wave. What thought my father of the scene? He was wrapped in amazement—in awe. But I thought not then of him. I was lost in the birth, in me and around me, of new life out of pristine chaos. We gained our orange-girt abode in an ancient city; and the murmurs that audible, were of new joys and close into the complete of the scene? He was wrapped in amazement—in awe But I thought not then of him. I was lost in the birth, in me and around me, of new first the broke upon the propose in the evening stillness, on luxurious cushions, breathing airs heavy with fragrance, those murmurs half audible, were of new j rious attraction was drawing me. I felt myself press against the thwarts of the boat. I heard he ripple of the wave as we cleft it asunder. Day

"Eternal Mind! thy seedling spark,
Through this thin vase of clay,
Athwart the waves of chase dark
Emits a tim'rous ray! Emits a tim rous ray:

This mind-enfolding soul is sown,
Incarnate germ, in earth;
In pity, blessed Lord, then own
What claims in thee its birth!

"Far forth from thee, thou central Firm,
To earth's sad bondage cast,
Let not the trembling spark expire,
Absorb thing own at last !!!" As the song died away, I entered a vast, dim apartiment, whose windows were darkened of the moonlight by blossoms—and there, like a wreath of vapor, from the far recesses of another hall, came forth to meet me a form * * * * * We floated rapidly together, and, with a cry of agonizing intensity of joy, we were fast imprisoned as by the incumbent weight of atmospheres. Life, thought, existence, seemed ending. A mighty, spasmodic, wringing, and straining current of fiery fluid seemed revolving through our compressed and helpless systems, gyrating in quick coils of spiral lightning through the minutest fibres of our frame. The sensation was of consuming fierceness of rapture. We groaned, to be imprisoned in such a tyranny of cestasy, of anguished pleasure! Yea, we faintly struggled to free our pleasure! Yes, we faintly struggled to free our-selves—to disentangle our close embrace. Our convulsive efforts were fruitless. With gasping sighs of expiring delight, we ceased to be con-

I remember, next, a most abhorred sense of cruel drawing and rending, as though my very life and soul were being wrenched from me. I opened my eyes. I beheld, just forced from my grasp, a white-robed form. From her dark eyes, to mine were during sparking streams of fire o mine, were darting sparkling streams of fire Her long ringlets were all quivering as by a rush of air to me—her hands, the filmy drapery of gauzy white—all, all, were instinct with life, and fluttering forth—while all on my part correspondingly to her. Our maps of some ingly tended fiercely to her. Our moans of sorrow filled the air—pierced the heart—as her fa-ther bore her, forcibly reft away, from my view, and others violently detained me from pursuit.

* * * * * * *

I was once more alone in my own apartment, a changed being. Life! life! had acquired for me a new mystery of meaning—a wealth, a joy. I looked at myself in a mirror. My countenance was no longer pallid. The flush of kindling animosity was on my check and ready flows along. was no longer pallid. The flush of kindling animosity was on my cheek, and ready fires played from my eyes. I disrobed myself, and sought to rest the remaining moments before dawn. A mark upon my arm arrested my attention. It was the print in ineffaceable lines, as of blood, of a tiny hand. Every line, every minutest trace of those fairy fingers, left—photographical as it were—upon my flesh. My heart bounded at the sight. Pressing it to my lips, I fell into a profound and dreamless slumber.

M. de ——sought out my father. Long they conferred of these mysterious events, and of the mystic history of the past—every particular of my past life, and of the life of her I had met. An my past life, and of the life of her I had met. An inexplicable similarity prevailed. She, too, had lived, a dark enigma. Now had arrived at once, apparently, the solution of the riddle—the crisis of our fate. After protracted consultation, (while I was buried in deathlike repose,) it was resolved to arrange another meeting, and carefully to await its own result. All day I remained insensible. It was my first such slumber. Not till again the solemn moonlight bathed the slumbering city, did consciousness revisit me. I arose, sensible of new consciousness revisit me. I arose, sensible of new powers—new developed hopes, ideas, anticipations. I gazed in amazement upon my changed figure. No longer lank and skeleton-like, every outline seemed swelling into the perfection of muscular proportion. Athletic energy inspired me. Might, dignity, majesty, seemed the elements of my motion. I felt able to command. I felt the assistation to create. Laggic encountered felt the aspiration to create. I again encountered my own reflection in a mirror. The sallow pallor was gone. The sunk eyes were orbed full with was gone. The sunk eyes were orbed full with steady rays. Every feature was eloquent with expression. I knew myself the same, and yet another. My father, as he entered, exclaimed in astonishment, he could not have recognised his son. I needed no intelligence, for my seeking instinct of what they would have informed me. An irrejetible convexing parilipor of elections was also as the sun of the convexion of the second states. of what they would have informed me. An irresistible conveying pavilion of elasticity swayed my motion, drifting me along. I needed no guidance. They followed me in mute observance. Like a cloud borne of upper currents of air, so I was wafted through the liquid silver of night. Again I undulated through the chequered shadows of the embowered garden, and passed the portals of the alabaster mansion. Again I heard the faint low melody, but now no longer breathing such a sorrowing yearning for departure. Ah! it was low melody, but now no longer breathing such a sorrowing yearning for departure. Ah! it was tumultuous with joy. Again I entered that mys-tic hall, but not, as before, helplessly hurried on. Methought we did slowly and inevitably approxious forests. And in the wild outbreak of the elemental revel, Oh, with what ardor did I spread forth my arms, and pray to be wafted away to the scene of my destiny! In these moments alone did any vivacity interrupt the premature apathy of my features. Then did a faint flush tinge my cheek and some cintillating snarks part from my cheek and come cintillating snarks part from my cheek and come cintillating corrupation, so long as that behold our mutual approach. When I met heir eye, I seemed to be looking into two deep mimes of Usurriant wavering flame; and methought I heard a crackling corruscation, so long as that deep fire gase remained. But, when I looked upon the delicate symmetry of her almost clin figure, and the delicate symmetry of her almost clin figure, and the special symmetry of her almost clin figure, and the special symmetry of her almost clin figure, and the special symmetry of her almost clin figure, and the special symmetry of the and the special symmetric than the special symmetric symmetry of the special symmetry of the bulley merited name of keeping the but, weatcast, and chesp that the special symmetry of the special symmetry of the special symmetry of the bulley merited name of keeping the but, weatcast, and chesp that should be special symmetry of the special symmetric symmetry and symmetric symmetry and symmetric symmetry and symmetric symmetry and such as a symmetric symmetry of the such as a symmetry symmetric symmetry and symmetric symmetry and symmetric symmetry and symmetric symmetry symmetric symmetry and symmetric symmetry symmetry symmetric symmetry symmetric symmetry sym

Watchmen on the walls of Ime: Steadfast vigil keeping O'er a world, in grief and orime, Reveiling or weeping— Lift your voices loud and high, With a firm endeavor; Sound abroad the mighty truth, "Men are brothers ever."

Let it reach the home of wealth,
Where no care has entered;
Where all luxury and ease
Gorgeously are centered:
When the lowly of the earth
Of their want are telling,
Let it pierce through every heart
In the stately dwelling. Let it reach the home of wealth,

Let it reach the hardened man,
Who, God's law unheeding,
Through the rice and cotton fields
Drives the faint and bleeding—
Where upon the sable back,
In the streaming gashes,
Whissing through the morning air
Fall the stinging lashes.

Can the stating lander.

Let it mind the young and gay
Of the sad and sighing,
Sitting by the lonely bed
Where the sick are lying:
Where the feeble lamp of life
Momently grows dimmer,
Till, in everlasting night,
Dies its latest glimmer.

Let it reach the battle field,
Where the swords are fishing;
Where, along the serried ranks,
Cannon balls go crashing;
Where, among the heaps of slain,
Looking upward saily,
O'er the carnage-recking plain
Leaps the war-horse madly.

Grieve not though ye see no fruits
Of your patient toiling;
Though your feeble voice seem lost
In the world's turmolling—
For the God whose holy faith
Ye so fondly cherish,
Will not that the seed ye sow,
In his name, should perish.

When you lie within your graves,
Of the world unknowing,
And above your coffined forms,
Flowers and grass are growing—
Men shall feel and own the power
Of the truth you've spoken,
And of love, unknown before,
It shall be the token.

Then shall gladness come again
To the sorrow-laden;
Then shall kindness cheer the heart
Of the fallen maiden:
Then shall plenty bless the homes
Want had made so lonely,
And the slave, a slave no more,
Serve his Maker only.

Then shall she, the angel bright,
White-winged Peace, descendin
Tell of war, and bloody fight,
Strife and slaughter's ending:
Then—requital of your seal
And your firm endeavor—

OFFICE FOR PATENTS.—P. H. WATSON, Attorney and Selector of Patents, Washington, D. C., would inform OFFICE FOR PATENTS.—F. H. Warson, Attorney and Inventors and others, that he receives medicis, repares esciliarious and attawings of new inventions, and solicits letters patent for the same, both in this country and in Europe; he also makes researches, furnishes information, and remaked all other business relating to his profession; for which, his charges are moderate.

Persons sending a medici, or a sketch made with a pen or pencil, of any new invention, with a sifert description of the same in a letter, addressed to him, can be informed whether it be patentable, and how a patent may be obtained without the expense and inconvenience of a journey to Washington. Those who wish to send models can do so with entire safety, by boxing them up and forwarding them by any of the Expresses which run between this city and aimost every part of the country.

Being a practical mechanic, he can readily understand the parts and judge of the utility of an invention, from a rough drawing and description.

All models and confidential communications kept with the most scrupulous care and secrecy.

Those who may visit this city, to make personal examinations of the models of patented inventions, records, &c., preparatory to applying for letters patent for their own inventions on their models of patented inventions, records, &c., preparatory to applying for letters patent for their own inventions would fluid it to their advantage to call upon him immediately upon their arrival, as he can furnish them with such information as will greatly facilitate the transaction of their business, and materially aid them in securing their rights.

Persons are frequently subjected to long and tedious delay and accumulated expenses, in obtaining patents, in consequence of having their papers and drawings imperfectly or

their business, and materially aid them in securing their rights.

Persons are frequently subjected to long and tedious delay and accumulated expenses, in obtaining patents, in consequence of having their papers and drawings imperfectly or improperly prepared; and when obtained, after so much trouble and cost, the patent often fails to protect the invention, from the same causes which produced the delay. All these difficulties may be avoided by the employment of a competent and faithful agent residing at the seat of Government, where he has daily access to the models and specifications of patented inventions, and other sources of information that do not exist elsewhere, which enables him to draw up specifications that will amply secure the just claims of the invention, and at the same time avoid an interference with old inventions. By this means the rejection of an application is prevented, and a strong and valid patent insured.

For evidence of his competency and integrity, he would respectfully refer to all persons for whom he has transacted business.

Office on F street, between Seventh and Eighth streets, opposite the United States Patent Office, Washington, D. C. N. B. Letters must be post paid.

M. E.S. M. OGDEN will reopen the school recently in charge of Miss A. M. Billing, on Monday, 3d January, at Mrs. Billing's residence, on Ninth street. The English branches generally will be taught.

Dec. 30.—3t.

JUST PUBLISHED—"A Discourse delivered at the Plymouth Charch, Brooklyn, N. Y., on Thankagiving Day, November 25th, 1947: By Henry Ward Beccher "—a handsome covered pamphlet of 25 pages octavo, which should have a place in the library of every Anti-Siavery man. Price 12-12 cents single, §1 per dozen. For sale at the Anti-Siavery Depository, 22 Spruce street, New York, by Dec. 30.—3t.

CENTRAL AGENCY for the sale of Anti-Siavery Publications, No. 22 Spruce street, New York.—The subscriber, as Agent of the Executive Committee of the American and Foreign Anti-Siavery Society, would inform the friends of the c will be enabled to keep on hand, for sale at wholesale and re tail, a full supply of the Anti-Siavery literature of this country. There can be no doubt, that if the Taury, as it has been set forth by the advocates of emancipation, can be brought before the minds of our fellow-ditisens, the most satisfactor; results will be produced; and it is earnestly hoped that the facilities asforded by the establishment of this new Anti-Siavery-Depository will be suitably appreciated and improved. It is not deemed beat to comprise in this advertisement a complete catalogue of the Books, Pamphlets, Tracts, Engravings, &c., now on hand. Such a list will probably be prepared and extensively circulated in the Spring. It may, however, be well to say, that among a large assortment of Publication may be found the following:

Memoir of Rev. Charles T. Torrey; Voices of Freedom, by Whitter, last edition; liberty Minstrel, by G. W. Clark, last edition; Barnes on American Slavery; Bacon on American Slavery; Discussion between Rice and Blanchard; Home, written in prison, by C. T. Torrey; Unconstitutionality of Slavery, by Spooner; Narrative of Lewis and Milton Clarke Reproof of the American Church; Condensed Bible Argument, by a Virginian; Alvan Stewart's Argument; Winons, the Brown Maid of the South; the American Board and Slaveholding, by Rev. W. W. Patton; German Anti-Slavery Almanca for 1847; Liberty Almancas and Tracts, by the thousand hundred, dozen, or single copy, &c.

It is confidently hoped that no friend of Humsm Rights, or a visit to New York, will think of leaving the city without supplying himselt with a quantity of our Publications. Order, from all parts of the country, enclosing the cash, and specifying how the parcel may be sent, will be promptly attended to, by

Jan. 7. Publishing Agent, No. 22, Spruce street.

MEMOIR OF REV. ELIJAH P. LOVEJOY, with an Introduction, by John Quincy Adams—the cheapest Anti-Slavery Depository, New York. It contains nearly 400 pages of reading matter, neatly not up paper covers, and is of

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D. B. JOHN ROSE, Betanic Physician, and Practitioner of Electro-Magnetism, may be found at his office, 227 West Pratt street, Baltimore, until 9 A. M., and between 12 and 2 and after 6 F. M., unless professionally engaged.

April 22. SPENCER & NORTH, Attorneys and Counsellors of Law, Syraouse, New York, Office, Standard Buildings.

Jan. 28.—tf ISRAEL S. SPENCER, JOHN W. NORTH.

Office, Standard Buildings. ISRAEL S. SPENCEE. Jan. 28.—tf

Jun. 28.—tf

JUST PUBLISHED, under the direction of the Executive Committee of the American and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society, "Letters to Professor Stowe and Dr. Bacon, on God's Keal Method with Great Social Wrongs, in which the Bible is vindicated from grossly erroneous interpretations. By Amos A. Phelps."

The numerous friends of the respected author will be glad to know that this important work, in the revision of which he spent the last days of his life, is now published in a large 12mo f.rm, on fine paper, and with handsome type, making a volume of 168 pages. With a view to its extensive circulation, the work has been stereotyped, and is offered for sale at the low price of 37 1-2 cents bound in cloth, or 25 cents in pamphlet form, which can be sent by mail at a charge of 7 1-2 cents for postage.

The usual discount to booksellers.
For sale at the Anti-Slavery Bepository, 22 Spruce street, New York, by WILLIAM HARNED, Dec. 23.

Publishing Agent.

JUNION:—This valuably monthly, published at New York, under the editorial care of the Kev. John Marsh, Corresponding Secretary and Supervisor of the Executive Committee, will commence its twelfth volume on the lat of January. It invites the subscription of gentlemen of reading and reflection in all parts of the country; promising able editorial articles, suited to the times; the best selections, statistics, facts, temperance correspondence and intelligence from all parts of the our of Temperance Union, New York."

Terms—one dollar, single copy; five dollars for ten copies, sent to one direction. Money sent in the small at the risk of the publisher. Direct, "Journal of Temperance Union, New York."

W. GUNNISON, General Commission/Merchant, 101 Bootly? Wharf, Ballimore, Md. Dec. 23.—3

M. Bookly's Wharf, Ballimore, Md.

LOT OF GUNS, the largest and best relacted in the market.—Among them are a large number of Chance & Son's make, so celebrated for strong and correct shooting. They can be stripped and examined, and, after a fair trial, should they not prove to be as represented, they can be exchanged. A great variety of everything appertaining to the business. Blunt & Sims's celebrated siz-shotter, at reduced prices, together with a large assortment of Pistols, of various patterns. Riftes made to order at the shortest notice, and sold low for cash.

April 29.—tf 65 South street, one-door north of Pratt.

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DE, H. STARB'S Omes, Liberty street, second door north of Fayette street, west side. Haltimore. April 39.

IMPORTANT TO TEACHERS AND

New Series of Reading Books, by Joshua Leavilt, onther of Leavilt's Easy Lessons.

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While be comprised in four Hooks, and clusters of youth. They
will be comprised in four Hooks, and clusters of youth. They
will be comprised in four Hooks, and elegant yellular they
will be comprised in four Hooks, or Leavilt's Easy Lessons, is a work
which has been so universally approved by the best teachers
in New England for twenty years past, that no further recommendation is needed. This is substantially the same
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The Trird Reader is of the same general charter as the
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The Prost the Reader is intended for the higher classes in
common schools, and contains pieces of a still higher classes
ter than those in the preceding books. The author has stirdiously avoided the introduction into this volume of extracts
from claborate exsulys, speckes, dissertations, &c., and has
aimed to meet the wants of the schools and make son
calculated to arouse and inspirit a school, and make godreaders; and h IMPORTANT TO TEACHERS AND aimed to meet the wants of the scholar in the school room. He has selected and arranged such pieces as he believes are calculated to arouse and inspirit a school, and make good readers; and has rejected many pieces of sterling character, and of great literary merit, deeming them altogether above the comprehension of the mass of scholars in our common schools. This volume will be ready about the 1st September The attention of teachers and school committees in particularly called to the elegant and substantial style of this series of Readers, to the paper, printing, and brinding, and also to the very love price at which the publishers have determined to sell them. We hope for large sales, and shall be satisfied with small profits.

JOHN P. JEWETT & CO., Sept. 22.—3mif Boston, Mass.

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AT THE VERY LOWEST SCALE OF PRICES! The elegant display of goods at Simmons's Oak Hall, emeracing the latest importations from London and Paris, are anufactured under his own presented emeracing the latest importations from London and Paris, are bracing the latest importations from London and Paris, are direction, and affords to gentlemen who would save upon old prices, full thirty to forty per cent. in the purchase of a good suit of clothes, well cut and well made, a complete opportunity of selecting from the largest stock every variety of ele-guat Clothing and Dress Goods now in the United States, and which may be had by citizens and strangers; in addition to a superb assortment of

CHILDREN'S CLOTHING, At lower rates than can be purchased at any other es-tablishment on the face of the globe, and at prices less than eyer before offered, even at Simmons's, P. S. Wholesale traders, look to this. Thousands of dozens of Coats, Pants, Vests, and turnishing goods, cheap. C. Entrance at No. 32 Oak Hall, Nos. 32, 34, 36, and 38, Ann street, near the head of Merchant's Row, Boston.

Ann street, near the head of Merchant's Row, Boston.

Nov. 4.—3m

THE LIBEKTY ALMANAC FOR IS48, compiled by the Rev. Joshua Leavitt, and published by the American and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society, contains, in addition to the usual calculations, astronomical tables, &c., a great variety of important facts and statistics, bearing directly upon the subject of slavery, not to be found in any other publication, and prepared with special reference to the present position of the question in this country. In the confident expectation of a large demand, the work has been handsomely stereotyped, and printed ou good paper; and, to secure its extensive circulation, the wholesale price has been fixed at the following reduced rates: 250 copies, or upwards, at \$30 copies for \$21, 25 copies for \$1.

All orders must be accompanied by the cash, and designate the mode of conveyance by which they are to be forwarded. Post office stamps may be sent for fractions of a dollar.

The friends of universal emancipation are earnestly called upon to aid in giving this valuable Anti-Slavery decument a circulation commensurate with its merits, and its peculiar alaptation to the present state of things in this country. For sale, wholesale and retail, at the Office and Depository of the American and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society, No. 22 Spruce street, New York, by WILLIAM HANNED, Publishing Agent.

DEFERSE Commencing finite teach of the same and the same an

Spruce street, New York, by
WILLIAM HARNED, Publishing Agent.
DCF Anti-Slavery papers will please copy.
Oct. 14.

TREES.—Commercial Gurden and Nursery of Parsons
4 Co., Flushing, near New York.—This establishment
now covers an area of more than seventy acres, and the prictors are enabled to furnish, on the most reasonable
terms, every desirable variety of Fruit and Ornamental
Trees, Shrubs, Roses, Vines, &c. During the past year,
their collection has been enriched by many novelties from
Europe, which will be found worthy the attention of anateurs. Dealers will be supplied on liberal terms. Catsloguet
furnished gratin, on application by mail to the proprietors, or
personally at 10 Fine street, New York.

Sept. 16.—St

IMPROVED-LAKD OIL.—No. 1 Lard Oil, for Lamps; No.
2, for Woolless and Machinery—in good chivbing order.

"I have made full trial of the No. 2 Lard Oil, which I purchased of thee, and am happy to state that I can speak decidedly in its praise. I have used if on wool of different grades, from the common or native to the full-blood merino, in the process of manufacturing cloth, and find it a better article of No. 2 than I have at any time heretofore used. I have also found it equally excellent in lamps for shop lights."

For sale by

THOMAS EMERY, Lard Oil Manufacturer,
June 24.

No. 33 Water street, Cincinnati, Obio.

JHALL, Designer and Engraver, No. 8 Entlaw street,
opposite the Entury House, Bultimore.—Drawings of Buildings, Machinery, Specifications for the Fatent Office, the State of the State of the State of the Competition of the Fatent Office, the State of the State

ierns for Castings made. Brands and Steneils cut to order.

Brawing School.—instruction given in the art of Drawing.

April 22.

ROBERT JOHNSTON, Draper and Tailor, Fugetle M., first door east of Howard street, Baltimore, respectfully informs his friends and the public that he has on hand a select assortment of Cloths, Cassimeres, and Vestings, which he will make up to order in a superior manner, and on the most reasonable terms. Making and trimming done in the best style for those who prefer inding their own cloth. All work done at this establishment warranted to give satisfaction.

JOHN JOLLIFFE, Attorney and Counsellor at Law. Office on the east side of Main, between Third and Fourth streets, Cincimnati, Ohio. Collections carefully attended to. Refer to Thomas H. Minor, Dr. Dr. G. Bailey, Neff & Brot. Kirby, Esq., Biachly & Simpson, C. Donadson & Co., Cincimnati; Hon. J. W. Price, Hon. J. J. McDowell, Hillsborough, Ohio; A. W. Fagin, St. Louis; J. J. Coombs, Gallipolis; N. Barrier, Esq., West Union, Ohio; Dr. A. Brower, Lawrenceburg, Indiana; S. Galloway, Columbus, Ohio; Col. J. Taylor, Newport, Kentucky; Gen. K. Collins, Mayaville, Kentucky, Jan. 7.

CHARLES PHILLIPS, Bellhanger, Locksmith, and Smith in General, may be found at the old stand, No. 113 Front street, opposite the Stone Tavern, Baltimore. Bells put up in the country at the shortest notice, and on the most approved plan.

WINDOW SHADES.—Genos Fayaux has removed his Painting Rooms to the southeast corner of South and Baltimore streets, Baltimore, where he will continue to receive orders for painting the fashionable Transpacent Window Shades, which have had so much preference to any other Blind since their introduction into this country from Europe. In addition to the Window Shades, he will also continue the Decoration of Stores and Halls. Signs lettered, Banners and Flags for Military and Fire Companies, &c. He respectfully solloita a share of patronage from those who may other Blinds. Signs lettered, Banners and Flags for Military and Fire Compa

por pair.

N. O. 37 CHEAPSIDE.—J. D. Armstrong & Thornton,
Tobacco and Cigar Warehouse. Tobacco in large and
small packages; Cigars in packages of 50, 100, 125, and 250.

April 29.—tf small packages; Cigars in packages of 50, 100, 125, and 250.
April 23.—tr

PATENT AGENCY.—All matters connected with the
Patent Office, Drawings, Specifications, &c., accurately
and promptly prepared and attended to.
Aug. 25.

S. A. PEUGH, Washington, D. C.

PLUMBE NATIONAL DAGGERREAN GALLERY
AND PHOTOGRAPHERS' FURNISHING DEPOTS;
awarded the gold and silver medals, four first premiums, and
two highest honors, at the National, the Massachusetts, the
New York, and Fennsylvania Exhibitions, respectively, for
the most splendid colored Daguerroctypes and best apparatus
ever exhibited.

Portraits taken in exquisite style, without regard to weather.
Instructions given in the art.
A large assortment of appasatus and stock always on hand,
at the lowest ceah prices.
New York, 251 Broadway; Philadelphia, 136 Chesnut street;
Bostom, 75 Court and 58 Hanover streets; Baltimore, 266 Baltimore street; Washington, Pennsylvania avenue; Petersburg, Virginia, Mechanics' Hall; Cincinnati, Fourth and
Walnut, and 176 Main street; Sarstoga Springs, Broadway;
Pans, 127 Visille Rue du Temple; Liverpool, 32 Church
ired.

Type AND PRINTERS' MATERIALS.—The subscri-

Paris, 127 Visible Rue du Temple; Liverpool, 32 Church sireet.

TYPE AND PRINTERS' MATERIALS.—The subscriber has taken the Type Foundry lately occupied by Messrs. Cookeroft & Overend, No. 59 Gold street, in the city of New York, and will attend to all orders he may receive with punctuality and despatch. All the type manufactured by the subscriber will be hand cast, and of good metal and finish and he will furnish all kinds of Printers' Materials of the best quality, at the usual prices.

Mr. J. A. T. Overend (late of the firm of Cockcroft & Overend) has been employed to superintend the manufacturing department for the subscriber.

Old type will be received in payment on the usual terms. Jan. 7.

Old type will be received in payment on the usual terms. Jan. 7.

DENTISTRY.—Dr. Leach, Surgeon and Mechanical Bentist, North Charles street, opposite St. Paul's church, Baltimore, attends to all Bential operations in the best manner, and at very reasonable prices. Having facilities not possessed by any other person in his profession, he is enabled to insart the best Porcelain Teeth at about one-half the usual prices, and in a style which, for appearance, adaptation, or durability, cannot be surpassed. Decayed Teeth stopped by filling, and every plug warranted permanent. The Lethers administered in Surgical operations, when desired. Extracting Teeth ander its influence, 50 cents;

N. B.—Persons who have lost all their upper teeth may have a set of from six to eight made by Dr. L. so as to be worn on the bare gum, without clasps or springs, and warranted to answer the desired purpose.

T. B. WHEATON, Wholesale and Retail Druggist, keeps.

J. B. WHEATON, Wholesale and Retail Druggist, keeps
J. constantly on hand a well-selected assortment of drugs
and medicines, chemicals, paints, oils, dye stuffs, window
glass and putty, large glass for pictures, artists' prepared
colors, artists' brushes, pencils, crayons, water colors, &c.
Also, a few choice Groceries.
Corner of Broad and High streets, Columbus, Ohio.
Nov. 18.—5t

Nov. 18.—5t

TUST PUBLISHED—"Slaveholding Examined in the

Light of the Holy Bible, by William Henry Briebane, a
servant of Jesus Christi" For eale, wholesale and retail, at
the Depository of the American and foreign Anti-Slavery Society. Price, bound in meslin, 37-12 cents single, §3 per
dosen; ip naper covers, 25 cents single, §2.25 per dozen.

Orders for Anti-Slavery Publications must enclose the
asseh, designate how the books are to be sent, and be adasseh, designate how the books are to be sent, and be adareased to

22 Spruce street, New York. William Birney, Cincinneti, Ohio, Attorney at Law, and Commissioner to take Depositions and Acknowledgments of Deeds for the States of Vermont and Connecticut, offers his services for the collection of claims in the Federal and State courts of Ohio, and in the courts of Hamilton county. Office on Eighth strest, two doors west of Main, opposite the Methodist Book concern.

Jan. 7.

MAULDEN PERINE'S Eartheneare Pottery, corner of Pine and Lexington streets, Bultimore. All wares delivered in any part of the city, free of cartage. April 29.

CROTON HOTEL—On strict Temperance principles, No. 142 and 144 Broadway, New York; by May 6.—4f.